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THE KING.

THE royal assent will, it appears, be given to the Reform Bill this day, Thursday, the 7th of June; a day that will be memorable in the annals of England. The morning papers tell us, that the assent is to be given by commission, and NOT BY THE KING IN PERSON! Well; it is his affair, not mine. If there be consequences attending this, the consequences are his, and not those of the people. Some of the newspaper writers are very angry at this: I am not: I was much more angry when poor Joseph Mason, who had walked from the north of HAMPSHIRE to Brighton, to carry a most respectful petition to the King, was told by HER-BERT TAYLOR, that the King would not receive it, and that he must carry it to the Secretary of State in London; aye, and a vast deal more sorry was I when this Joseph Mason was, soon afterwards, transported for life, for being amongst the rioters in Hampshire. My friend Dr. BLACK is very angry about " We communicate to the this matter. " country, with deep and sincere grief, " the fact that his MAJESTY will not at-" tend in person to give the royal assent " to the English Reform Bill. A more " unfortunate determination could not " have been imposed on the King, and " it must have been instigated by cour-"tier advisers surrounding the royal " person, actuated by a desire to sow jealousies between the Monarch and " his people. The utmost excitement pervaded this great metropolis the "whole of yesterday, from an anxiety harm. Never break your heart about "that his Majesty should avail himself these people, who have such a plenty of

" of the golden opportunity of this grand national occasion to renew his solemn covenant of affection and liberty with " his loyal subjects. Arrangements had " been made for his Majesty's popular reception by deputations from the different parishes of the metropolis. "Up to a late hour yesterday afternoon " the King was at St. James's, which was naturally considered as an indica-" tion of his intention to go down to " Parliament in person this day; and a report was current, that the royal equipages were prepared for the joyous event. His Majesty, however, took his departure last night for " Windsor, and with feelings of deep regret we deem it to be our duty to " allay the public anxiety and certain " disappointment by this previous communication. Such a grievous decision cannot, we are confident, be attributed to the cabinet; it must emanate from those despicable minions who have unhappily misled his Majesty, and who, for their own base party purposes, endeavour to estrange him from the affections of the people. The back-stairs intriguers—the miserable whisperers in the royal ear, are the responsible agents of this national disappointment; they have destroyed "themselves, and they now seek to involve the monarch in their own fall. On their heads be the responsibility and consequences of the act. Majesty must be surrounded by deceivers and calumniators of the people; his own natural impulses would otherwise have gratified the ardent and " loyal hopes of his subjects."

Come, come, Doctor, don't crys dry up your tears; or, if you must shed some, let it be for the husbandless wives and fatherless children in Hamp. shire and Wiltshire; let it be for the parents of poor Cook of Micheldever, who was hanged for striking Binghan Baring, without doing him any bodie

palaces already, and who have another Let us all, high blood and low blood, be of enormous size now building, at expense enough to frighten one to think of. All is for the best, be you assured, Doctor; and, though you are bathed in tears on account of it, it is, perhaps, the very best thing that could have happened.

WM. COBBETT.

REFORM BILL.

Tens bill is, at last, become a law by the decision of the House of Lords on the 4th instant, which is the anniversary of the birth of George the Third, of whom and whose acts I will say only this, that it was those acts which created the true causes of this bill. The bill was passed in a House of 128 peers present. (no proxies being presented); and there were for it 106, and against it 22! Well done, bucks! you have, at last, done just what I said you would do; namely, oppose the bill, till every man in the country had feelings towards you that need not be described; and then, PASS IT, grinding your teeth all the while! The Lords, who stuck to the stuff to the last, were, as the report in the Morning Chronicle states, the follow-

DUKES. VISCOUNT Gage Newcastle BARONS Gordon

Rolle (Strathallan) EARLS. Doneraile Westmoreland Bexley Dartmouth Carrington Guilford Ellenborough Roden Monson Malmesbury Delamere Mansfield Carteret

Powiett Willoughby de Broke Powis Grantley

A queerish list! But no matter: these have no claim before any of those who voted against the SECOND READING, or who voted in favour of Lyndhurst's MOTION; all of whom stand upon exactly the same footing with these. here is the bill actually passed; and there is the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE with his reported vow, never to enter the House again! Come, come! my Lord; relax a little:

To make the vow was rash, to keep it sin."

good-humoured now.

The closing debate was not without interest; especially that part of it which relates to the Political Unions. I shall first insert the debate, and then remark on it.

REFORM BILL.

Earl GREY moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Reform Bill.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA-Although he was little disposed at present to trouble their Lordships with any observations of his, yet he could not help trespassing on their patience with a few words on this closing scene of the tragedy which had been of late enacting in Parliament. This night was that on which the existence of this House as an independent branch of the legislature depended. This night the independence of that House would be gone for ever, and those who were then present would witness the last act of its downfal. It was a daring and atrocious policy which had produced such a disastrous result. When he reflected on the height of prosperity, power, and glory, to which this country had advanced under its old institutions and happy constitution, which was now to be sacrificed at the shrine of ambition - when he considered the revolution which had formerly taken place in France, and the crimes and calamities with which it had been attended, and the military despotism in which it had terminated-when he reflected how the happy constitution of this country had withstood the storms and tempests with which it had been assailed, and that it had not only preserved itself, but had assisted other countries in preserving their independence-when he reflected how that constitution had enabled the noble Duke (Wellington), who was not now in his place, to place the British banners on the walls of Paris, and to tear from his lofty seat the tyrant who then afflicted Europe-when he reflected that this constitution was now humbled in the dust, he could not help feeling deeply the lamentable change that was now about to be consummated. When the noble Earl now at the head of the administration entered on the situation which he now held, he supported his administration for a short time. He had though highly of the talents, the firmness, and general ability of the noble Earl; and after the warm declarations that he had made of his sense of the dignity of that House, he never imagined that the noble Earl would do anything that must necessarily lead to the destruction of that House, and the down-downfal of the constitution. (Hear. hear.) But he had been most be the disconsinted. he had been most lamentably disappointed. He had been, indeed, strongly advised by his friends not to support it; and he deeply regretted that he had not followed that advice, for if he had followed it, he would, at least, have been saved the pangs of repentance

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which he now felt for having supported the noble Earl's administration, even for a short time. (Hear, hear.) He called the attention of the noble Earl to a speech of an eminent statesman now no more (Mr. Canning), and if the noble Earl would peruse that speech, and all the speeches of that statesman which had reference to this subject, he would see how much opposed the sentiments which pervaded these speeches were to the measure with which the noble Earl had overwhelmed the constitution of this country, and insured its down-It would be impossible for the noble Earl to avoid experiencing the deepest feelings of remorse, when in future times, which he might live to witness, he saw this once happy country plunged into misery, to which it was impossible but that the present bill must eventually lead. The noble Earl, instead of relying upon the great good sense, the property, honour, and intelligence of the nation, had delivered himself over to the radical, revolutionary, and infidel spirit of the age. Come what might, he and his noble Friends could not but feel that they had discharged a solomn duty to the public, and they could not doubt that however remote the time might be, yet a time would come and a feeling arise when the sentiments and principles on which they had acted would receive justice at the hands of the people of England. (Cheers.)

The LORD CHANCELLOR then rose to put the question that the bill be read a third time, when

The Earl of HARROWBY addressed their He remembered to have heard a story, which he thought was somewhat apposite on the present occasion. In a House of Parliament in a sister country, a member addressed some questions to the Government of the day, and receiving no answer, he sudden-ly exclaimed "Am I addressing an Iri-h Senate, or a Turkish Divan-are we to be strangled by mutes?" (Cheers.) He confessed he was not prepared for such a manifestation on the part of the noble Earl opposite, of the sense he entertained of the depth of degradation to which the House had sunk. He was ot prepared that the noble Earl should so plainly show his sense of that degradation as not vouchsafe a reply. He could not but admire the courage of the noble Earl in leaving uch a speech as that which the House had ust heard, without an answer. For himself, e found scarcely adequate language to convey to any one whom he might address upon ich a subject the intense disgust which he felt at the present condition of that House-at the position in which it had been placed by e proceedings of the noble Earl and his colagues; and he felt that he could hardly explain to himself, still less make intelligible to thers, why he had so far surmounted those elings as to take a part in the conclusion of at sad drama—a drama remarkable for a arge variety of plots. When its first act comof duty, had been induced to take an active

share in the proceeding; and the recollection of what then took place, as well as what had occurred since, and what was now going forward, rendered him incapable of resisting the impulse under which he was urged to trouble the House with a few words on the introduction of this measure, the means by which it was carried, and the consequences that would probably ensue from it-consequences which, he had no doubt, the noble Earl opposite would as deeply deplore as any member of that House. He had often stated, and he would not refrain from repeating that assertion, that the mere introduction of that measure struck the severest blow against the independence of the hereditary branch of the legislature which it had ever sustained. When it was a second time introduced into the other House of Parliament, and a second time adopted, the blow came with redoubled force; but he yet entertained a confident hope that such amendments might have been introduced as, without trenching on the principles of the measure, might have rendered it comparatively innoxious-such amendments as would have enabled those who in that House strenuously opposed it, to vote for the third reading without inconsistency. For example, double representatives had been given to the boroughs contained in schedule B, there would still have been left a better chance for the admission of men of unquestionable talent and character, who might be unwilling to face the trouble and expense of offering themselves to large constituencies. All history had proved that the most efficient and valuable members of the other House of Parliament were members of the class most unwilling to present themselves to popular places. He had further flattered himself that the places in schedule C would have been left as originally intended. He used the word intended, because he bore in mind the expressed intentions of the promoters of the measure. And he likewise expected that schedule D might have been altogether dispensed with, as well as that some of the metropolitan districts might have been consolidated, so as to give two additional members to Middlesex, and to give two representatives to the agricultural districts of Lan-Thus many of the painful consecashire. quences, the heats and animosities which arose from their being but single members to different places might be avoided. He had not himself at any time a very strong objection to the 101. franchise, provided the other parts of the bill were rendered unobjectionable; though the noble Earl himself admitted that the amount of that franchise did by no means form a principle of the bill. Still it might have been retained without drawing too largely on the consistency of those by whom the bill was generally opposed, provided it were to be regulated by the payment of taxes. the valuation for the poor-rates, and residence thus adopting the principle of the noble Earl himself, that of securing the most independen and respectable body of electors which th

country could supply. He should not trouble | bill as to make it what was asserted it would their Lordships with any further discussion on the principles or details of the measure, but he would at least indulge himself by saying, that he had hoped they would have been allowed to discuss it in an independent House of Lords: and he was the more led to entertain that expectation from the speech of the noble Earl's which induced them to consent not materially changed. They would find the to the second reading of the bill. In that greater part of the other schedules, occupying speech he repudiated in the most indignant similar situations to those in which they were terms the accusation made against him, of an attempt to dictate to that House. In that remarkable speech he declared, that the phrase he used was misunderstood and misrepresented. He declared, that whatever might be his opinion respecting the bill, the decision rested with their Lordships; with whatever urgency he might press the principle of the bill upon them for adoption, the arrangement of details rested with the committee of that House; but they could not shut their eyes to this important truth that was conveyed to them—that if they decided one way, there was an end to their independence for ever. Certainly the noble Earl had stated the extreme course which he proposed to pursue, unless a case of necessity arose. That case of necessity confessedly was—a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. The noble Earl admitted from the commencement, that nothing could excuse, much less justify, that extreme proceeding, except for the purpose of preventing a hopeless collision between the two Houses of Parliament, at a time when the opinion of the people supported the one House against the other. There was one expression of the noble Earl's which was to be found in that record of the proceedings, which members of Parliament have universally resorted to whenever it became necessary to refer to former speeches, and with that record before him he hesitated not to say that the sentiments imputed to the noble Earl were fully borne out by his words. If, however, instead of resting upon that generally received record, he (Lord H.) depended upon his own recollection, he would say that it turnished him with language much stronger than that attributed to the noble Earl by the publication before him. He had a distinct remembrance of the assurance given to the House, that its independence would not be violated without a fresh appeal to the people distinctly resting upon the question of reform. Those were the means which the noble Earl proposed for preventing that species of collision between the Houses of Parliament which alone was to be apprehended, and which alone, upon the showing of the noble Earl himself, justified the alternative which he proposed. He would then ask their Lordships, did not the statement and admission of the noble Earl bind him to wait, for the purpose of seeing whether the necessity would or would not arise. It was a gross misrepresentation to say that noble Lords had at any time contemplated alterations which would have so altered the

be-a mockery if sent down to the House of Commons in that state. So far from such a probability at all existing, the bill would have gone down to them with a preamble not materially changed, and occupying the place which preambles usually did. They would find schedule A the first of the schedules, and greater part of the other schedules, occupying originally placed, without their character being in any great degree altered. In fact the bill would not have undergone any changes beyond what are frequent in the business of legislation in this country. It surely could be no matter of importance to the other House of Parliament if a motion were entertained and agreed to for the postponement of schedule A; of what importance could it possibly be to the House of Commons that one part of the bill was discussed and arranged before another, provided the whole were returned to that House in such a condition as would not justify the assertion that it was essentially or fundamentally altered? He believed he should be fully borne out in the statement, that not above two or three noble Lords in that House were adverse to the whole of schedule A, and, therefore, he was warranted in assuming that the bill might have been returned to the Commons with its more important principles unimpaired. If any one had asserted in his presence that the noble Earl would have assumed that the circumstances which had taken place did constitute that extreme necessity which would alone justify the course the noble Earl contemplated, he (Lord H.) would have repudiated such an imputation as a base calumny upon the character of the noble Earl, and he would have felt it to be his duty, in common justice, to have vindicated the character of the noble Earl from such an aspersion. As to the power which it had been said had been given to the noble Earl, he would not characterize the means by which it was obtained in those terms which his present thoughts suggested. He had no doubt that even the present age, when it recovered its senses, would form a just estimate of those means, and posterity, which never erred, would pronounce upon them a solemn judgment. He would designate them as a party manœuvre. But whatever language best befitted their character, it must be acknowledged they had hitherto been attended with a temporary, though he feared, a mischievous success. He was not the man to envy that which enabled the Ministry to trample on the success. Crown and the House of Lords, by fostering a power which would soon trample upon them. (Loud cheers.) The noble Earl and he, from their common time of life, could not expect to witness the termination of that down hill progress to which this country was destined (cheers) -a progress which could never be atrested, otherwise than by Government taking

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destined be attaking decided steps to suppress those associations which could coalesce with no regular or established order of things. The political unions had in a great measure achieved the work of reform; and they must be perfectly conscious that they could at any time accomplish objects as great and not less mischievous. Not only would the Government of the noble Earl opposite find it necessary to suppress associations of that nature, but he was unable to conceive the formation of any government which could sustain itself against them. (Cheers.) The measure was now, for the last time, brought under the consideration of their Lordships. The whole responsibility, whether for good or evil, rested with the Government by whom it was proposed, and he prayed that God would grant them the wisdom and the prudence to rescue the country from its consequences. He sincerely wished, though he scarcely expected, that they might prove successful. But he looked much more to the people than to the Ministers; he relied on the elastic power of that great good sense which had carried the people of England through so many dangers. Let the Government, however, beware? They had administered poison, no doubt, to a strong stomach; but however strong that stomach might be, if it were administered day by day, and hour by hour, it was not in humanity to resist its noxious power. Be the results, however, what they might, the opponents of the bill had the satisfaction of feeling they had

done their duty. (Cheers.)
Earl GREY-In the state of health in which he was, and at that stage of the bill, he hoped he would have been spared the pain to himself, and the trouble to their Lordships, of addressing them at all. But after the speech of the noble Earl, he could not avoid standing up, not so much to vindicate the measure, as his colleagues and himself. (Cheers.) Were the attacks personal to himself, he should certainly not have occupied a moment of their Lordships' time in the discussion; but as they involved the character of the Government, he felt that neither in justice to the Sovereign or himself he could remain silent. He hoped that the House, as well as the posterity to which the noble Earl appealed, would acquit him of any sinister views of an ill-regulated ambition, and would give him credit for that sincerity of motive of which he had at all times felt perfectly conscious. He trusted that he should from every quarter receive credit for an earnest desire to introduce a measure consistent with the ancient constitution of the country—a measure necessary to remove the abuses which time had introduced, and, above all, rendered necessary, by the prevailing alienation between the House of Commons and their constituents, which deprived the former of the confidence of the latter. To remove those abuses, and to prevent their continuance—to meet that necessity which he did not create, he had introduced the measure on which their Lordships were that night finally to decide. Whether it had been

advanced to this stage by any indirection or by any party manœuvre, he would leave those to judge who observed the course of his and his colleagues' proceedings. He repeated, that of all attacks which related to himself he felt the least anxious; but if it were possible for him to feel less anxiety about one thing than another, it would be to vindicate his friends from the charge of being mutes. It really was a novelty to hear it said that the constitution had been strangled by mutes. Without meaning anything uncivil to the noble Earl, whose alienation he regretted. short as was their connexion, he must affirm that no assertion could be made so utterly unwarrauted by fact. He believed he could appeal to their Lordships to bear him out in the assertion, that no topic of discussion had been raised which had not been completely exhausted; and if he did not reply to the noble Earl's (Winchilsea's) speech immediately, it arose from a feeling that he had too often, and at too great length, trespassed on the attention of their Lordships. Looking back to the various debates that had taken place, he felt that it would be impossible for any one to contradict the assertion, that no one part of the measure had been imperfectly discussed. It was so long before their Lordships, all its principles and details had been so fully examined into, all its merits estimated, and its bearings so viewed, that it became unnecessary for him to say one word, had it not been for the speech they had just heard, which charged him with conduct inconsistent with his duty as a peer and a servant of the Crown. The noble Earl seemed to have forgotten or mistaken the declarations he had made in that House-declarations for which, when he uttered them, he expected to receive full credit from the House and the country. Now, as at all times, he would support the institutions of the country, which had so much promoted the glory and the prosperity of England. He was sincerely attached to them, and would ever continue to defend them. But, as Lord Bacon observed, Time was the greatest innovator; and it was in vain, however attached he might be to those ancient institutions, to attempt to resist that destroyer, before whom all hu-man institutions must ultimately yield. The constitution of England might be beautiful in theory and beneficial in practice; but abuses had crept in, and the remedy could no longer be delayed. In that situation he found himself, and even if disposed, he was destitute of the power to resist a measure of reform. But the inclination he never had: the opinions of early life were confirmed by the experience of latter years. Entertaining such sentiments, could he shrink from avowing and acting on them? The noble Earl then proceeded to detail the introduction of the bill, the principles on which it was founded-its progress through the House of Lords; and strenuously urged on their Lordships the necessity of now agreeing to the third reading. He denied that he had ever used language which could justify

noble Lords in assuming that he contemplated cumstances, he had only two courses open to a fresh appeal to the people antecedently to that exercise of the Royal prerogative, which he deemed necessary to prevent a collision be-tween the hereditary and the representative branches of the legislature. He particularly recol ected that he spoke of a probable cullision between the two Houses, and intimated that he should certainly feel it his duty to recommend the exercise of that prerogative, not to remedy a collision after it took place, but to prevent it in due time. The noble Earl who had spoken of their common age might remember the debates on the regency, though neither of them was in Parliament at the time; and it could not have escaped his recollection, that, on those debates, the prerogative of the Crown, to prevent a collision between the Houses, had been frequently insisted on. It was, therefore, with him no new doctrine, and the only question was, whether the emergency to justify it had arisen? There could not be a more dangerous error than to suppose that emergency was the actual and not the probable collision between the two branches of the legislature. Surely no man of prudence would wait until danger, confessedly foreseen, had arrived. Common seuse dictated that it should be provided against as speedily as possible. He would now come to the noble Eari's notice of the first point on which the House had divided in committee. It was asserted that was no question of principle. To decide between those who held this opinion and the contrary, he would leave to an impartial observer. This, however, must be acknowledged, that if they had conceded the point then demanded, they must have resigned to the enemies of the measure the whole conduct of the bill. That, he felt, was inconsistent with every principle he had ever professed, and he was resolved at all hazards to resist it. He did this from no vain pride, from no morbid sense of personal dignity. The noble Earl then enlarged on the injurious consequences of rotten boroughs : he denied that the House of Commons worked well in practice, that it failed in producing confidence between itself and the people, the representatives and the represented; contending that the main principle of the bill was the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, from which no consideration could induce him to swerve. Neither could he ever consent to any change in the order of proceeding which had for its object to limit the disfranchisement. The first motion thus made in the committee was made without any previous communication to him, and when its purport was stated to him for the first time in that House, he felt instantly that it was a proposition which, if agreed to, must prove latal to the bill. This motion was brought forward by those who were shocked and indignant at the notion of a party trick. (Hear, hear.) He imputed nothing to this; he only sought to defend himself, and he owned that, to his mind, no other course presented itself excepting that he had pursued. Under these cir-

him-to resign, or to offer the advice against which the noble Earl inveighed. That advice he humbly tendered, and as it was not udopted, he, with the utmost gratitude for past favours, entreated his Majesty to accept his resignation. Was that trampling on the Crown or the House of Lords? Was it not, on the contrary, abiding by that prin-ciple even dearer to him than his heart's blood, for he believed it necessary to the security of the country? Noble Lords had charged him with a determination to force the bill without any alteration; he could assure them, that so far from such a wish, he had been throughout willing to attend to all objections in the committee, which would not affect the principles or the efficiency of the bill. He then proceeded to defend the metropolitan clause, the 101. franchise, and to express a confident hope, that when the bill should have been read a third time, public repose and general satisfaction would be its sure consequences. Should it be necessary to say more in its defence, he would leave it in the hands of those whose strength was less impaired than his, and he would trespass no more on their Lordships. What might be the result of the Reform Bill it was not for man to decide, but in the present state of the country, they might be well assured it was impossible to avoid reform. If reform did not come in due time from within, it would come with a vengeance from without. The public mind had been so long bent upon it, that he believed there was no noble Lord in that House who would consciously say there was not the greatest danger in delaying it. He contended that although the nomination boroughs were destroyed, the great interests of the country would all be adequately represented; the agricultural, the commercial, the manufacturing, and even the colonial interests. It had been over and over again said, that much excitement prevailed; but he would appeal to the House whether he or his friends had been guilty of creating that excitement. He hoped the time was at hand when repose would succeed to that excitement: he hoped that a new era was at hand, and he anticipated that the noble Earl opposite would be amongst the first to rejoice at the falsification of his own gloomy forebodings. Amongst the advantages which he anticipated from the speedy adoption of the measure, was that Political Unions would no longer exist. He felt as fully as any noble Lord in that House that they could not co-exist with any well-regulated or efficient Government ; but he did not look to the same means for putting an end to them which seemed to be in the contemplation of some Members of that House. Earl on the other side probably remembered the associations which were formed in this country at the close of the American war; he could not fail to remember that they transacted business by means of delegates, and that they were in constant correspondence with each other; but that when the exciting

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carse was removed, the societies disappeared at the same time. So he expected it would be with the associations to which the necessity for reform had given rise. One of the result; of the Reform Bill would be, to extinguish those societies. He then proceeded to defend himself from the imputation of any feeling but that of the most disinterested desire for the public good; at his time of life, he could feel no personal interest; and he believed there could be no man in the country aware of his own relation to society at large, who could feel otherwise than anxious for the public; the humblest mechanic in the land had the same interest in its well-being that he had, and he made no doubt that every class of the community would see the expediency of instantly returning to that peace and good order, without which they could not hope to enjoy that prosperity which, he trusted, would soon, and for a period of long duration, fall to our lot. He would then say that the measure of reform, so far from being revolutionary, was, in the highest degree, conservative.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE gave the noble Earl full credit for the uprightness of his intentions and the purity of his motives, but yet accused his policy as tending wantouly to put the public affairs in jeopardy. He complained that that House had been deprived of its independence. He contended, that if the sense of the country could now once more be taken upon the subject, it would be found that the great body of the property, the intelligence, and the character of the country, were opposed to it. He denied the interpretation put upon his own former speech by the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, and contended for that of his noble Friend (Lord Harrowby); and he strenuously maintained, that no collision had arisen between the two Houses of Parliament. The noble Earl had said that the intention of making the motion which his noble and learned Friend had made in the committee was a secret to him. On his (Lord Wharncliffe's) part he could say, that nothing hich he had previously heard had induced him to believe that the noble Earl would consider the success of that motion to be conclusive with respect to his continuance in office. hatever else might be a secret to the noble Barl, the feelings which he (Lord Wharncliffe) and his noble Friends entertained with respect to the bill could be no secret to him. What ould they do other than that which they had done? From the time at which the noble Earl declared in his speech on the second reading of the bill that the bill was in the hands of their mending the bill in the committee would be Ispassionately received and considered. And be had also thought that the noble Lords opsite were disposed to go a great way with m in amending the bill. What he and his soble Friends had been trying to do was to

noble Friend had justly said, the noble Earl had made use of the resu t of the motion of his noble and learned Friend with great skilfulness, as if the destruction of the bill had been previously concerted. No such concert had, however, existed. With respect to the recent proceedings in the committee, he (Lord Wharucliffe) having voted for the second reading of the bill on the ground that it was susceptible of beneficial alteration in the committee, had felt it his duty to attend in the committee, and endeavour to improve the bill as much as possible. They all knew the result, and the determination evinced by the noble Lords opposite not to give up a single point of the measure. Looking back at the whole of the proceedings, he could not take to himself any blame for the share which he had had in them. Before the debate on his noble and learned Friend's motion in the committee, he had told a noble duke, a member of his Majesty's Government, his noble and learned Friend's intention. But if the committee had not decided in favour of his noble and learned Friend's motion, it was possible that they would have decided against his Majesty's Ministers on schedule B; and that would have brought their Lordships into still greater collision with the House of Commons. Everything proved that, whatever might have been the nature of any amendments proposed in the committee, the proposition would have been in vain. He hoped, however, that when the bill was passed, the noble Lords opposite would really turn their attention to the state of the country. The noble Earl had admitted that the systematic operation of Political Unions would be inconsistent with the good government of the country. He (Lord Wharncliffe) however, very much doubted whether the settlement of this question would have the effect of putting an end to the Political Unions. When the Catholic Bill was going through the House, one of the great arguments in its favour was, that it would put an end to the agitation which existed in Ireland; yet, from the period of the passing of that measure, Ireland had been in constant agitation. Having become conscious of their power, he doubted whether the Political Unions would be disposed to relinquish it, or to break up that machinery which had proved so effective in the attainment, of their object. On the contrary, he looked to see a House of Commons elected under the influence of the Political Unions, and of the press. Nothing, however, was so dangerous as political prophecy; and he would, therefore, express his earnest hope with the noble Earl, that after the heats and animosities which the discussion of this measure had occasioned had subsided, beneficial consequences might be the result. He could not but confess that he looked with great apprehension to what he conceived was the danger of lodging a preponderant power in the hands of one part of the community; but he trusted ake the bill safer and more satisfactory to that his fears would prove groundless; and majority of the community. But as his that the measure would be productive of all

the public advantage which the noble Earl

anticipated from it.

The question "That the bill be now read a third time," was then put from the woolsack. The Lord Chancellor declared that he thought the contents had it; but a noble lord (we believe the Earl of Roden) stating that the non-contents had it, strangers were ordered to withdraw.

Although there could be no rational doubt as to the result of the division, yet considerable agitation prevailed among the excluded strangers, until they were informed that the numbers (no proxies we understood having been presented) were as follows:

Contents 106 Non-contents 22

Majority . . 84

As soon as the decision of their Lordships was communicated to the people assembled in Palace Yard, they rent the air with shouts, which were distinctly heard in the House.

On our re-admission, we found the Lord Chancellor proposing several verbal amendments in the bill, which, after a brief conversation, were adopted.

versation, were adopted.

The question "That this bill do pass," was

then put and agreed to.

A number of noble lords immediately surrounded Earl Grey, and appeared to be congratulating him on the successful termination of his arduous labours.

Upon this debate, I must remark, as far as I think it necessary to remark upon it, in conjunction with the debate, in the House of Commons upon the amendments made by the Lords to the bill, except in as far as relates to the speech ot Lord WHARNCLIFFE, who appears to be the only man left in the nation, who still believes that there is a majority of people of property against the bill. The main anxiety of HAR-ROWBY, WHARNCLIFFE, and WINCHIL-SKA; the main subject of their apprehension, appears to be, that the Politi-CAL UNIONS will still continue to exist. Lord GREY answered this very well. Certainly, it will not be necessary to have Political Unions when the reform has been made; but it will be very necessary to have them until it has been made. PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, and his worthy associate CROKER, whose adopted child has had a pension allotted to her, seem to have been perfectly horrified at the thought of the continuance of these Political Unions after the bill has been passed; and passed it now is (6 June) all but receiving the royal as-

Per expressed his alarm in the following words:

The character of all future measures depended on the character of the new Parliament. Let the noble Lord take the course which he might think most conducive to the speedy passing of those measures, and he assured him that no one on that side of the House would throw any factious obstacle in his way. Above all, he felt it his duty to call the attention of his Majesty's Government to the continued existence of these political associations. It was quite clear that the Unions had no intention of dissolving: they intended to continue their existence for the purpose of extorting further advantages. He had heard it said that this bill was to be accepted as a final and satisfactory measure. The hon. Gentleman behind him (Mr. Hume), the Member for the metro-politan county, had himself said the same thing; yet he declared only a few nights back, in reference to the 101. franchise, that, give him but that and he would soon extort the 5% (Hear.) This was the principle on which the Political Unions proceeded. What man interested in the well-being of the country could advocate the existence of these political associations, whose object and desire was to control the right of voting. He understood that there was no intention on the part of Government to interfere with these Political Unions; but they expressed their confident hope in the good sense of the people for their suppression. But if the Political Unions made their sittings permanent, if they obtained the control over the rights of voting conferred by the billwhatever hon. Gentlemen might think of the form of society under which we had lived for the last fifty years-in his opinion, that there was no party in the state whose domination could be so intolerable as that which was to come. (Hear.) He hoped that his Majesty's Government would have sufficient confidence in themselves-he hoped they would have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the people of England; and if they were disappointed in their expectations of that good sense, he hoped they would have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the legislature and the strength of the constitutional powers to vindicate the authority of the law, and rescue them from the wretched and degraded tyranny under which they would otherwise be compelled to live. (Cheers from the opposition.) By the King's speech, made at the opening of the session, the Ministers were in some measure pledged to this. In this speech his Majesty says, "Sincerely at-tached to our free constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my

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people the privilege of discussing and making known their grievances; but in respecting these rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered." They were, then, about to give their final assent to that hill which was said to be the chief cause and justification of political unious. the cause, then, the effect ought also to cease; and he would call upon the House to consider, before the separation of this Parliament, the propriety of redeeming the pledges placed in the mouth of his Majesty's Ministers, and to put an end to the proceedings, the continuance of which, under any form, are inconsistent with all good government, and opposed alike to the provisions and spirit of the law, and to give that protection to property and liberty which is quite incompatible with the continuance of those associations. (Cheers.)

This is very terrific, to be sure. PITT clubs, Conservative Clubs, Loyal Associations against Jacobins and levellers, openly employing bands of spies and informers; all these were right enough; but unions for the purpose of obtaining reform, frighten PEEL's-BILL PEEL out of his senses. If there be anything which common sense bids every man to believe, and with respect to which there can be no difference of opinion amongst sane persons, it is this: that, if there be anything which your notorious and deadly enemy dislikes more than every thing else, that is a thing which you ought to like Upon this principle we ought to judge now with regard to POLITICAL UNIONS. We may be sure, that PEEL and CROKER dislike them, ecause they are favourable to us. If they saw in these Unions things which could be easily corrupted, they would not have such a dislike to them. They think, and they think truly, that these Unions will have a good deal to say in pointing out the proper members to be ected, and, why should they not? Are there not "county-clubs," sitting from even years to seven years; regularly fitted out with chairmen, secretaries, and corresponding committees; have not both Whigs and Tories these; and shall " tration the mirror of the ill-concerted and

not the people have associations for a similar purpose? But, before I proceed further, let us have the words of Lawyer ROKER, who quoted Washington!

There was no part of the conduct of his Majesty's present Government which he more deeply lamented than their conduct towards the Political Unions. Nor was that conduct free from the marks of duplicity, as well as of neglect of duty. They might for a time check the eruptions of those volcanic Unions, but he very much feared that the earthquake would be stifled only for a time, and that eventually monarchy in this country would totter to its fall. Even at the present moment Political Unions, by the mere change of a word, were about to become legally organized. They were about to call themselves Electoral Unions, and to assume the functions of conductors of elections throughout the country; pointing out to the voters of popular places the persons whom they thought best qualified to sit in the House of Commons. And this system was to last for ever. It would be a perpetual circle of political excitement. Was it too much to believe that these Unions would succeed in obtaining a bona fide and permanent influence over the Government of the country? Let those who thought so recollect what occurred in France at the period of the revolu-tion; and recollect the division of Paris into Electoral Sections, which, having set themselves above all law, first controlled the Government, and in a short time destroyed it. He would on this subject appeal to an authority which he supposed would be allowed to be entitled to respect by all who admired high public character obtained in the establishment of national independence, but which authority pointed out the dangers which might beset constituted order even in a republic. great Washington, in the year 1796, when, as it were, taking leave of the American nation as a public man, wrote a letter in which he warned his countrymen of the great danger to which even a popular state was liable from political associations. Having observed that when a government was once established it was the duty of every individual to obey it, Washington thus proceeded :-

'All obstructions to the execution of the "laws, all combinations and as-ociations, " under whatever plausible character, with "the real design to direct, control, counter-act, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, " destructive of this fundamental principle, " and of fatal tendency. They serve to organ-" ize faction, to give it an artificial and ex-"traordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a " party, often a small but artful and enter-" prising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of dif-" ferent parties, to make the public adminis-

" incongruous projects of faction, rather than "the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and " modified by mutual interests. However " combinations or associations of the above " description may, now and then, answer " popular ends, they are likely, in the course " of time and things, to become potent " engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and " unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert "the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; de-" stroying afterwards the very enemies which " have lifted them to unjust dominion."

LAWYER CROKER, this passage from what was called Washington's legacy, will make against you when properly explained. I was an actor, and a pretty important actor, too, on the stage, when this legacy came forth. War was going on between England and France. WASH-INGTON was anxious to keep America in a state of neutrality; "Democratic Societies" were formed to force the Congress into a war against England. I had a very considerable hand in keeping down these societies. The object of these societies was far different from that of our Political Unions, the object of which is to obtain a restoration of our rights, and a relief from our burdens. The " Democratic Societies" of America had no complaint to make against their Government, which laid not one single tax upom them, and which never had attempted to withhold from them the enjoyment of one single right. form of the Government, was a form which the people themselves had chosen, the president and the members of the Congress, had, at the time we are speaking of, recently been chosen by the people. At the end of about a year and a half, the right of choosing would again revert into the hands of the people. was upon these grounds that WASH-INGTON objected to clubs whose manifest intention was, to coerce the Goverament; to overrule those whom the people had chosen to carry on their affairs; and, in this particular case, to compel them to go to war, to gratify the wild and vindicative whims of the leaders of these societies.

Is there any similarity in the two cases, Lawyer Croker; and ought not some one to have put you down at once tells us that HE will take this reform as

by showing the dissimilarity? Do ve combine for the purpose of dictating to the King and his Ministers measures of war and of peace? Have those who rule us been chosen by ourselves, from the King down to the justice of the peace! Shall we, at the end of every two years, have the rechoosing of the whole of them? Have we no rights to recover; and have we no burdens imposed upon us? Oh! Lawyer CROKER, there wanted a man with a head upon his shoulders, to remark upon your learned quotation from Washington. Oh! Lawyer! The glorious days of Mother Clarke are

gone never to return!

I was not much delighted with what the Ministers said upon the subject of these Political Unions. They, in both Houses, expressed a hope, that the good sense of the people would put an end to the Unions when the reform was completed. Agreed, if by completion, they mean the Reformed Parliament actually assembled, and proving by its conduct that it is resolved to make the changes which the circumstances of the country demand; but wholly do I disagree with them, if they mean, that the Unions ought to cease upon the mere passing of the Bill. Why, here is this Parliament still sitting with the members of the fifty-six cashiered boroughs in it; and, what is more, the Ministers do not think proper to give us even a hint with regard to the time when it is to cease to sit! Nay, Lawyer CROKER, my real belief is, that, if the Political Unions were to dissolve themselves, and the people were to sink down into a state of confiding apathy, and were to hold their tongues upon the subject, this Parliament would continue to sit for years yet to come, unless put an end to by the demise of the crown. Oh, no! 1 am not for a government of clubs : I never have been. A nation cannot be well governed by such means; it is all caprice, and all confusion: but, I am for our keeping together, and not slackening in any one of our exertions, until we see the members of the Reformed Parlisment fairly seated in the House.

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while it occurred to nobody to ask him who the devil qualified him to be the receiver of this liquidation; while he is saying this, and while all the Minismeasure, there is loan-monger BARING with his further reform; and there is Lord WYNFORD with his bill for a further reform; and there is the sublime Seignor Ellenborough with his project for preventing the vacating of seats in cases of pecuniary appointments! Here are a whole series of bills, as I foresaw there would be, for counteracting the effects of the Reform Bill. Certainly so indecent a thing never was heard of in the world before: here is this House of Commons, which has just solemnly declared itself not to be the representatives of the people, entertaining a series of bills for regulating the conduct of those who shall be the representatives of the people; and, what is still more, really seeming to be acting upon the notion, that any acts which it shall pass shall be binding upon a reformed Parliament, and that it shall not

be able to repeal them! The people would have been well content, after passing the English Reform Bill, to see the present House of Commons sit to finish the other Reform Bills, and to do nothing more. Then we might have forgotten, or, at any rate, ceased to characterize, this present House of Commons, and ceased to trouble it, in its dying moments, with our complaints and remonstrances; but, since it will continue to "legislate" as it calls it; since it seems resolved to go on a "legislating," it ought to be our business, and particularly that of the Political Unions, to give it something to "legislate" upon; and above all things to remind it, that, agreeably Lord John Russell's express declaration when the Reform Bill was brought in, the two great questions of the durations of Parliaments and the ballot were only "deferred" until the Reform Bill should be passed. I should be well content to leave these matters to a reformed Parliament itself; but if

liquidation in full of all claims; and still continuing to "legislate," the Political Unions will, I warrant them, soon bring these matters before them. Better cease to "legislate," then, or, at any rate, cease to call the measure final, ters seem to say that this is a final while there is a whole series of bills coming forward, the manifest object of which is to counteract the effects of the Reform Bill.

Thus, Lawyer CROKER and PEEL's-BILL PEEL, you see that something may be said in favour of Political Unions, which are, in fact, dangerous to none but the enemies of the people; to none but those who have still the hope of defeating the effects of reform. These Unions are, in effect, as necessary to uphold the present Ministers, as the faithful and gallant dogs were to protect the sheep against the devouring jaws of the wolves. "Get rid of your dogs," said the wolves to the sheep: "it is "they that make all this mischief " between us; get rid of them, and then " we shall live in harmony." "Get rid of your Unions," says Croker and Peel's-bill Peel. If the Ministers were as foolish as the sheep, the result would be much about the same as to them. But, they could not get rid of them if they would. Without a renewal of SIX-ACTS, they cannot get rid of them; and, does Croker and Peel's-bill Peel think, that THIS House of Commons; THIS one; that THIS one, is going to sit there, and receive green-bags, and renew SIX-ACTS! Oh, no! If the Ministers be wise, they will let the Political Unions quite atone; they will go on, in right earnest, putting the Reform Bills into execution; they will be gentle towards the people, even in case of their excesses (if they should fall into any, which I do not believe); they will rely on the people to defeat all the infamous intrigues against them; and they will make no attempt at all to make partisans of the leaders of the Unions. My Lord GREY is too sensible a man not to see that the thing must march, as the French call it; and I pray God, that HE may resolve to march with it! I acknowledge great gratifude to him, and my feeling is that of the nation. the rotten-borough gentry insist upon The thing will march, whether he march

with it or not; but, it would march He takes a large view of the matter, much better with him at its head. Con-RUPTION's hatred against him is absolutely indescribable; but, let him confide in the people, and he has nothing to fear: if he pursue the contrary course, there is no species of danger to which he will not be exposed. He is beset by enemies. He may truly say, in the language of the Psalmist: "Mine ene-" mies compassed me round about: "they set a trap for my feet: even " they that dipped their hands in the " same dish with me did seek my life." And then, to avoid profanity, he might as truly exclaim: " But you, O people, " are righteous, and will cover me with " shield, and will avenge me on all my 4 foes.

Lord GREY remembers, he must remember, that, nine years ago, I told him, that, amongst all the nobility, he was the only man whom I regarded as at all capable of setting the thing to rights; but, at the same time, how often, my God! did I tell him, that even he could do nothing without the people at his back! How often did I tell him, that the attempt would destroy him, unless shielded by the people! And I, as often, assured him, that he would have that shield. He has found all my words true, thus far; and he ought to listen to me now. He is now, at this moment, in the crisis of his fate; and a few short months will decide, whether he is to be known hereafter as one of the greatest of mankind, or, as a person of very equivocal claim to renown. That the former may be his ot is my most sincere and ardent wish; to give effect to that wish I would cheerfully labour like a horse all the rest of my life; because the wish cannot be accomplished without the re-establishment of the liberties, the happiness, and the greatness of our country.

I now come to another part of the speech of Lawyer CROKER, it is only worthy of attention, as it shows what sort of dreaming is going on in the minds of the tax-eaters. The lawyer, who has had such a fat birth for so many years, seems to be filled with most dismal forebodings for the future most dismal forebodings for the future. able Member for Middlesex was perfectly

extends his statesmanlike eye over the whole continent of Europe; and, at last fixes it, dropping a pious and patriotic tear at the same time, on the dismal state in which England will be when it shall have been stripped of all its rotten boroughs, and shall have been abandoned by all those elegant and beautiful creatures, who figure on the pension and sinecure lists, and of all the very long spurs, and very bushy whiskers, that ornament the deadweight. Having prepared ourselves to weep with the Lawyer, let us hear his pathetic lamentation:

Up to the present period England had been the anchor of the social security of Europe. Equally exposed to the deluge of democracy during the existence of republicanism in France, and to the deluge of despotism when Buonaparte obtained supreme authority in that country, the hopes of social order had been preserved in England as in an ark, until hoth those dangers had subsided. But that which his Majesty's present Government was about to do, was to convert that ark into a fireship. All who contemplated what was passing in Belgium, in Holland, in Portugal, in Spain, in Russia, must know that the people of those countries were looking with intense anxiety to England. (Hear, hear, hear.) The republican or movement party throughout Europe, looked on the passing of the Reform Bill as a great advance, and, like the honourable Member for Middlesex, hailed it as the precursor of a greater. Looking, therefore, not only at ourselves, but at the other nations of Europe, was it possible to believe that if those nations became democracies, we could maintain the monarchy, the aristocracy, and all the ancient and feudal institutions which we Boundary Bill he (Mr. Croker) observed, that he should feel it his duty to state his objections to the way in which that bill was to operate, it was not his intention to protract his remarks upon it, or to carry his opposition so far as to interpose any serious obstacle to the passing of the measure. Indeed, he considered the Reform Bill and the Boundary Bill as inseparable; for, if the people of Eng-land were assembled for a general election after the Reform Bill was passed, and before the Remodern Bill was passed, and therefore the Boundary Bill was passed, and therefore before it was determined who had the right of voting, the most disastrous consequences might be the result. He could not conclude, withoutsolemnly declaring, that nothing which had occurred during the discussions on the measure had altered the opinion which he

correct in his prognostics. He believed

that principles were affoat which it would

be impossible to check. He believed that

the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman

opposite were sincere in their desire to put, as

it were, a seal upon the bond; but he also be-

lieved that the words of the bond were so ex-

tensive that no seal would be effective; and

that as the hon. Member for Middlesex had

said, the Reform Bill was but the commence-

ment of a career of change; what had oc-

curred since the original introduction of the

bill confirmed him in that apprehension. The

first edition of the bill had been received with

approbation, even by the most violent reformers. They had since had two successive

editions of it; each having a further and a

further tendency to democratic character. (Cries of "No, no.") That negation should

not provoke him to enter further into the sub-

ject than to say that such was his opinion.

Indeed, the arguments of the friends of

the bill had been—"See what your op-position comes to; the second bill is worse than the first, and the third than the second."

Seeing, therefore, that every alteration was in

a democratic spirit, and seeing the prevalence

of that spirit throughout Europe, he could not

but apprehend the ultimate subversion of the

constitution, and the establishment first of a

democracy, and then (in due course of events)

of a despotism; and, after a sad, and he hoped not a bloody interval, the RE-CONSTRUC-TION OF THE ADMIRABLE SYSTEM so

Lawyer CROKER: it is for you who

knew Mother CLARKE, and who know

your adopted female pensioner: it is

for you to say whether either of these

could have made a speech so stupid as

this; but it is for me to say, that I do

not believe that any other man living

could have done it. So Lawyer, Eng-

land has been the ark of "social order,"

has it? It stood out against both re-

publicanism and also against Buona-

parte, until "both those dangers had

subsided." Shallow Lawyer: it did in-

deed put them both down: but it CON-

TRACTED A DEBT; the borough-

mongers contracted a DEBT in order to

put them down, which was sure to put

them down; and this I told them,

when they were roasting sheep and

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oxen at the peace. I told them so then, Lawyer CROKER: I told them that they

had to pay the reckoning; and that reckoning, Lawyer, they are now only

just beginning to pay.

looking with great anxiety to England; and that the republicans in those countries look upon the passing of the Reform Bill as a great advance. To be sure they do, Lawyer; and to be sure their tyrants look at it with dismal forebodings; and, that is one of the things to be sure, that makes the bill pleasing to us. You ask, whether, if those nations become democracies, "We could " maintain the monarchy, the aristo-" cracy, and all the ancient and feudal "institutions, which we were accus-" tomed to revere." Lawyer CROKER, amongst those revered institutions, do you find the excise-laws, the stamplaws, the assessed tax-laws, the infamous funding system, the standing army, the military academy, the deadweight, the Bourbon police, and the treadmill, not to mention more things Poh! Lawyer CROKER. at present. Mother CLARKE would not have talked

nonsense like this. It is, however, the close of your speech which has been most attractive of my admiration. You think that we shall have, first, A DEMOCRACY; then, in due course, a DESPOTISM; and then return to the PRESENT AD-MIRABLE SYSTEM! That is to say, Mother CLARKE to rotten boroughs. would not have said that: Mother CLARKE was a tax-eater, and a brazen one, too: Mother CLARKE took the footboy from behind her chair, and made him an officer in the army: but Mother CLARKE would not have said that.

And, if we should have a democracy, Lawyer CROKER, why should that be followed by a despotism? The parties most interested in the thing; the parties who would lose most by it, must be most brutally perverse to drive us to a democracy; but, if they were to do this, way should that be followed by a despotism? You say, that the despotism will come in "due course;" just as if democracy was the flower and despotism the fruit! Mother CLARKE would not have said that, Lawyer CROKER: Mary Ann was brazen, to be sure; but Mary Ann, if she had been quoting You tell us, that the people in the Washington at the same time, would despotic states of Europe, have been have had too much sense to say that,

well knowing, that the very mention | towards my country, but a stupid foreof WASHINGTON would remind her hearers, that there was a people, and an English people too, who had shaken off the laws of a boroughmonger parliament; had erected a democracy in the stead, and had, under that democracy, enjoyed, and still continued to enjoy, prosperity and happiness not equalled by any people on earth. Mother CLARKE would not have foreseen this conclusive answer, and she, brazen as she was, would have refrained from making the assertion.

There were many other things, said in these last dying speeches on the Reform Bill, which things would, under other circumstances, not be unworthy of notice. Other matters, however, now press, and I must, therefore, here conclude my remarks.

GERMAN FROWS.

Oh LORD! The devils have bred here! I thought they were half masculine; but at Cobham, the other day, I saw two or three of them with some young ones! You might have knocked me down with a feather! The rats, which country people and the people in America call " Hanover rats," are nasty and mischievous enough; stinking and greedy vermin a plenty; but nothing to what these " py-a-proom" devils will be, if once their breed take a spread. There is one consolation, however; that as there are no nes come over, the breed must be bastards. Here, indeed, we want Malthus and Brougham and Lord Howick and PETER TIMBLE to get to work at checking population!

LECTURES.

NOW is the time for EXERTION! We must not stand and stare at each other; nor must we waste our time in rambling pointless talk. We must think well first; resolve on what we ought to do, and DO it! For ME now to neglect anything within my power, would not only be an abandonment of duty

going of my own unquestionable right. I have been fighting this hellish THING for thirty long years; it has frequently plundered me, once made me flee; once had me prisoner of war; but it never made me lower my colours a single inch. At last I have fairly beaten it; and the devil's in me if I do not profit from my victory!

What we now want is, a common understanding amongst the people, with regard to what measures ought to be adopted by the reformed Parliament; and with regard to what we ourselves ought now to do, with regard to the choosing of proper men for that Parliament. To this latter subject, which ought to be the object of our immediate and unremitted attention, I shall call the attention of my readers next week, when I shall NAME MEN, whom I think ought to be chosen. It is time to do this; for it is MEN that must do the thing; and the sooner we FIX on some of them the better.

But, besides work with the PEN, I am resolved to work with the TONGUE. I am resolved not to stand staring, at any rate. I have, at the request of the "NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION OF THE WORKING CLASSES," given two LEC-TURES, on the two last Tuesdays, at their place of meeting, in THEOBALD'S ROAD, RED LION SQUARE, and I have engaged to do the same next Tuesday, the 12th June, at the same place. Whether I shall be able to do it after that at that place I do not yet know, though the excellent arrangements of the place, the decorum observed, the sober and attentive conduct of my hearers, and the impression that appeared to be produced, hold out great encouragement to a continuation of my labours in that quarter. I gave a LECTURE at GREENWICH last Monday night to a very numerous audience. My main object was to convince them that they ought to shun men of rank and of great wealth, and particularly tax-eaters; and I am of opinion, and indeed have no doubt, that they will, for one of their members, choose Mr. PENN, the engineer; and, in this whole kingdom,

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there is not, in every respect, a man ask no favours of any one. I am ready, more fit.

But I know that a great deal will depend upon RIGHT OPINIONS, as to this great matter being entertained by the MIDDLE and WORKING classes of this metropolis, and therefore I have determined upon giving a lecture once a week for some time to come, at some place or other. Perhaps I shall continue at the present place; but I have, as yet, made no positive arrangement for that purpose. They take here 3d. from members of the Union, and 6d. from other persons; and, after paying the expenses, I divide the receipts with the

Union, half and half.

If I can find time for it, I shall be very happy to go for the same purpose to any of the new boroughs around London, if a proper place be provided. But to no place will 1 go, unless money be taken for admission. I never, in my whole life, except in one instance, gave, as a present, any book of which I was the author; though that custom is so general. I have always felt, that it would be saying, "Here is a book that I have written, pray read it, it is well worth your while." Just so would it be to go about begging folks to come and hear me talk. As to what I do with the money, that is wholly my affair. I have never touched, in any shape whatever, one farthing of the people's money, I work as hard as the hardest working of them, I pay any of them who work for me, and, if they choose to have any of my labour, they of course, must pay me. I do, indeed, apply the money thus earned, in part at least, and, perhaps, wholly, to the use of the husbandless wives and fatherless children and forlorn parents of the killed and transported chopsticks: to these poor fellows we owe the Reform Bill; and they and theirs shall never be abandoned by me. However, this is for my own gratification. I choose to do this; and I do it with my own means. I take the lecture-money for myself; and I do dispose of it as I like. Above all things, let no one imagine that he confers a favour on me by coming to hear me. I ask no favours of any one. I am ready, with body and mind, to serve my country; but, while I want no thanks in any shape or form, I am resolved to incur no obligations.

FRANCE.

I always said, that the French people were cheated in 1830, and that the elevation of Louis Philippe was planned by him, Charles, and the base loanmongers: I said he was put in to " keep the nest warm" for Charles. All the world sees this now; but, at any rate. the people are making the nest warm indeed for him: hot even. He must take care, or it will become a marmite (porrige-pot) instead of a "nest," and " PHILIPPE I." and his tribe, will, instead of eating up the people, as they seem disposed to do, get cooked themselves. It is high time! It is high It is high time that the people cease to be insulted and loaded like asses by such worthless creatures!

BARING'S BILL.

From the following petition it seems that the National Union of the Working Classes differ with regard to this curious bill of Baring very widely, indeed, from the "National Political Union" of Mr. FRANCIS PLACE! The petition was presented by Mr. O'Connell on Friday, the 1st instant. The circumstance is just barely noticed by the Morning Chronicle, and other morning papers, though Mr. O'CONNELL stated the substance of the several parts of the petition, expressed his concurrence in opinion with the petitioners, and declared that he would oppose the Bill in all its stuges. All this was omitted by the morning papers. The omission might have been ascribed to laziness or ignorance in the reporthers; but I am well informed, that copies of the peti-

tion were made out and carried to all talent, if resolutely disposed to maintain the papers; and I know that the vagabond editors have not inserted it, though their columns are filled with rubbish interesting to no person of sense. The TRUE SUN is an exception here, for it has inserted it. One would wonder what should make these vagabonds thus hostile to the working people; but they are so to a man; aye, and at the bottom of their hearts, the far greater part of them are enemies of Parliamentary reform. They have lived by corruption, and they naturally dislike to see it put an end to.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The Petition of the undersigned Members of the Committee of the National Union of the Working Classes, and others,

Humbly showeth,

That your petitioners have, with great surprise, seen brought into your honourable House a bill, the professed object of which is, to "preserve the "dignity and independence of the House " of Commons;" but the manifest tendency, if not design, of which is, to shut out or turn out of the House all those who are not very rich men, or who have not great riches at their com-

That there is scarcely any man, engaged in trade, manufactures, commerce, or agriculture, who, being a member of Parliament, may not, in consequence of some unforeseen accident, and without any fault or folly on his part, become unable to satisfy pecuniary demands upon him; and that as the said bill provides for the ejection from the House of every man so situated, the people may thus be deprived of their best, their ablest, and, perhaps, their only defenders in that House.

That your petitioners can easily foresee how the pecuniary ruin of men in trade, and of moderate property, would at any time be effected by combinations of the powerful and the rich; and they firmly believe, that if this bill were to become a law, no man of distinguished

the interests of the common people, would long be able to escape that ruin; and that, in short, your petitioners can see in this bill nothing other than a deeplaid scheme for counteracting the natural effects of the Reform Bill, and for depriving the people of their rights, under the pretence of preserving the dignity of their representatives.

That your petitioners believe that there are few persons who will be found to deny that the country is at present in a most deplorable state; that ruin and misery meet the eye, turn it which way you will; that, in the midst of profound peace, we have all the expenses of war to sustain; that, trade, commerce, and agriculture, have lost their profits, and labour its employment or its wages; that our pecuniary concerns appear to be as uncertain as the winds, hourly threatening us with the confusion arising from barter; and that your petitioners cannot but know that this state of things has been produced by a House of Commons, consisting of men of rank and of wealth; and that, therefore, they cannot be brought to believe, that it is necessary to pass a bill, the tendency of which is to prevent any man who is not very rich, from holding a seat in the House of Commons.

That your petitioners complain, that there is any pecuniary qualification at all for members to serve in the House of Commons; that they do not see why they should be compelled to choose persons possessed of lands and no other persons; that they know, that in the United States of America, no such qualification is required: that they know, that prosperity and happiness so great as those enjoyed in that country have never been exceeded in any country in the world; and that, as to insolvency, which the aforesaid bill would seem to hold in so much horror, your petitioners beg leave to remind your honourable House of the notorious fact, that, out of the seven presidents under which the United States have arrived at such a point of unexampled prosperity, and at such great consideration in the world, two have actually

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That, besides these considerations, your petitioners cannot refrain from expressing their utter astonishment, not to mention a feeling of a more hostile character, that, during more than a long hundred years, while rotten boroughs existed, no member of the House should ever have appeared to think it necessary to propose any such measure as this for the purpose of upholding the dignity of the House; and that they are sure that it will not escape the observation of the most thoughtless individual, that it is singular that your honourable House should have become so very careful in providing for the independence of its members just at the moment when so many of its members are about to cease to be mere nominees; that, within the recollection of even the youngest of your petitioners, men have been taken out of prison for debt in consequence of having been returned to your honourable House by rotten boroughs, while many have been members of your honourable House for a great part of their lives without owing anything tangible to the hand of the sheriff or his officer. That, further, your petitioners beg leave to be permitted to observe, that if pecuniary possessions be necessary to preserve the dignity and independence of one House of the legislature, they cannot be wholly unnecessary to the preserving of those of the other House. That, indeed, your petitioners do not know, and therefore will not say, that any members of the other House are insolvent; but this they do know, and therefore this they will say, that they find on the pension-list the names of the mothers, wives, children, uncles, aunts, and cousins, of the members of the other House of Parliament, and that they therefore presume that the heads of he families must be insolvent, seeing hat, otherwise, they would subject indred are worse than the heathen."

died insolvent and were insolvent at the spectfully submitted to your honourable time of their elevation to their great House, your petitioners pray that your honourable House will not pass the afore-mentioned bill, but that you will be pleased to leave it to a reformed Parliament to adopt such measures as they may deem necessary to the preservation of their own dignity and independence.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

The BILL, against which this petition was presented, came on for a Commit-TEE on the 6th instant, when "Mr. "O'CONNELL rose to move that the bill should be committed that day six " months. During the time that a large proportion of the members of that "House were representatives, not of the people, but nominees of individuals, no such bill was ever dreamt of. Nay, "it was well known that persons had " been taken out of jail and introduced " into that House. But now that the people were really to select their own representatives, this bill was introduced to operate as a check on their free choice; for he did not hesitate to say, that its object and operation were " to confine the choice of the constituency to the moneyed interest, or to "men of large landed property. It " was, in point of fact, introducing a " new qualification. It should be re-" membered that the protection from " arrest given to the member was not a protection to him personally, but a protection to his constituents, or as-"surance that their interests were not " to be neglected. (Hear!) On that principle, therefore, the Bill was a wrong one. Let them make what " qualification they thought proper; " but having taken that precaution with "regard to a candidate, let them re-" member, that the candidate once cho-" sen, the privilege belonged not to him, "but to his constituents. It was so " much the custom to attribute personal themselves to the awful censure of the " motives to men in these times, that postle, who pronounces that, "Those " he thought it right to say, that there ho neglect the care of their own "were few men whom it would affect "less than him; he believed that That, for the reasons thus most re- "he derived a larger revenue from

"landed property than any of the last " four members for his county. Another " ground on which he objected to it " was, that it recognised the general " right for arrest for debt. He thought " no arrest ought ever to be permitted " for debt, except after a judicial sen-"tence, when it would be rather in the " nature of criminal punishment. "other objection was, that it would " throw too great a power into the hands " of the millionaires, of those who had " amassed large fortunes by those funds, " which he did not consider the most " moral means; where an insurrection, " or a good astounding lie, well circu-" lated, put, perhaps, a million into a " man's pocket, it would enable these " men to obtain a control over the votes " of members of Parliament in either " House. It would give rise to a system " of purchasing up judgments, mort-" gages, and incumbrances on the estates " of Members of the Legislature, which, "though perfectly solvent, they might " not be able to satisfy on a short no-" tice, and thus a very unfitting control " over their votes would be obtained. "He objected to give wealth more " power than it had already. In his " opinion it had already too much; it "did not lead to happiness, and he " thought the accumulation of masses " of wealth into a few hands was the " great evil of this country." (Hear, hear.)

Well said! Thank you, sir. have one able man for us, at any rate; one man with eyes to see under the shell, and with courage to crush the viper in the egg! After some professions on the part of Baring, and several other speeches of no great amount, the bill was committed pro forma, that is for form's sake; and is to be re-committed in a fortnight! when, the reader may be well assured, it will be committed to the flames; for the Ministers signified their intention to oppose it!

And, now then, what says Mr. PLACE and HIS " National Political Union?" They were wrong, it seems; and the WORKING UNION were right. These working people could see under the it has been bestowed; and, under the

classes of the metropolis on this signal effect of their penetration and promptitude; and more especially I congratulate them on their having a man like Mr. O'CONNELL, ready to attend to their complaints; for here they have the ability as well as the will.

THE FITZJORDANS!

THE following article, which will give rise to striking reflections, is taken from the Register of September 6, Twenty-six years ago, then, and when these people were babies, I foresaw the consequences that might arise from their existence.

"What a base and foolish thing it is for " any consolidated body of authority to say, " or to act as if it said, 'I will put my trust, " not in mine own virtue, but in your pa-" 'tience; I will indulge in effeminacy, in " indolence, in corruption; I will give way " to all my perverse and vicious humours, " because you cannot punish me without " the hazard of ruining yourselves!"-BURKE'S WORKS, Vol. VII., p. 364.

THE large grants of public money, made by the Whig Ministry, just at the close of the last session of Parliament, were, by many persons, and by myself amongst others, regarded as being totally unnecessary, seeing that the allowances to the several branches were already so ample. Colonel Wood has the merit (a merit that will, ere long, be distinguished) of having opposed these grants; and, though his opposition proved ineffectual for the time, it encourages us to hope, that, when the House shall again be full, there will be some few members, at least, found to endeavour to cause a revision of this measure, which, I will venture to say, has given a greater shock to men's feelings than any one that has been adopted for many years. - But, at any rate, since the money has been granted, it must be the wish of every good subject to see it judiciously expended; to see it, agreeably to the declarations of the Ministers, employed in "supporting the dignity" of the several persons on whom shell. I congratulate the working influence of this wish, what must have

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been the public feeling at reading the following account, ostentatiously published in all the London newspapers, of 23rd of August, 1806, under the title of " DUKE OF CLARENCE'S BIRTH-DAY?" To be precise, however, I shall, previous to my inserting the account, just state, that I copy it from the Courier newspaper of the day here mentioned.—" The Duke of Clarence's " birth-day was celebrated with much "splendour in Bushy Park, on Thurs-"day. The grand hall was entirely " new fitted up, with bronze pilasters, " and various marble imitations; the " ceiling very correctly clouded, and the " whole illuminated with some brilliant " patent lamps, suspended from a beau-"tiful eagle. The dining-room in the " right wing was fitted up in a modern " style, with new elegant lamps at the " different entrances. The pleasure " ground was disposed for the occasion, " and the servants had new liveries. "In the morning the Dukes of York's " and Kent's bands arrived in caravans; "after dressing themselves and dining, " they went into the pleasure-grounds, and played alternately some charming pieces. The Duke of Kent's played some of the choruses and movements from Haydn's Oratorio of the CREATION, arranged, by command of his Royal Highness, for a band of wind instruments. About five o'clock the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, Colonel Paget, &c., arrived, from reviewing THE GERMAN LEGION. After they had dressed for dinner, they walked in the pleasure-grounds, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, Earl and Countess of Athlone and daughter, Lord Leicester, Baron Hotham and Lady, Baron Eden, the Attorney-General, Colonels Paget and M'Mahon, Serjeant Marshall, and a number of other persons. At seven clock the second bell announced the

" of Cambridge sat next to the Prince, " the Duke of Kent next to the Duke "of York, and the Lord Chancellor " next to his Royal Highness. The " DUKE OF CLARENCE sat at the foot of the table. -- It is hardly necessary to say the table was sumptuously covered with everything the " season could afford. The bands played " on the lawn, close to the dining-room "window. The populace were per-" mitted to enter the pleasure-grounds " to behold the Royal Banquet, while "the presence of Messrs. Townshend, " Sayers, and Macmanus, preserved the most correct decorum. The Duke's "NUMEROUS FAMILY were intro-"duced, and admired by the Prince, " the Royal Dukes, and the whole com-" pany; an infant in arms, with a most " beautiful white head of hair, was " brought into the dining-room by the " nursery maid. After dinner the Prince gave 'the Duke of Clarence,' which was drunk with three times three; "the Duke then gave 'The King, " which was drunk in a solemn manner. " A discharge of cannon from the lawn " followed. 'The Queen and Prin-"cesses.'—' The Duke of York and the "Army.' His Royal Highness's band " then struck up his celebrated march." -Now, first observing, that I do not mean to give this paragraph as a narrative of real facts, but merely as a publication that I have found in the newspaper above named, and as a statement which I wish to see contradicted by order of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, or some of his brothers; thus observing, and explicitly stating, that my object is to remove the evil impression, which such a publication must necessarily tend to produce upon the minds of a people, who, by the express command of his Mojesty, have read to them from the pulpit, four times a year, a long exhortation against vice and immorality, and who have fresh in their inner, when THE PRINCE took minds the large grants of money recent-MRS. JORDAN by the hand, led her ly made for the declared purpose of enalo the dining-room, and seuted her abling the several branches of the Royal I the head of the table. The Prince Family " to support the dignity of their ook his seat at her right hand, and the station; " thus previously observing, I uke of York at her left; the Duke would beg leave, as a beginning of my

me, to ask the writer of it, what march he means, when he talks of the "celebrated march of the Duke York?" And, I would further ask him, what necessity there was in a publication of this sort, to remind the people of England of the Duke of York's marches? And why he could not have so far got the better of his too obvious disposition, as to suffer those "celebrated" marches to rest quiet and unalluded to !-The representing of the oratorio of the CREATION, and arranged by the Duke of Kent, too, applied to the purpese of ushering in the "NUMEROUS FA-MILY of the Duke of Clarence;" the thus representing the Duke of Kent as employed in an act, whereby the procreation of a brood of illegitimate children is put in comparison with the great work of the Almighty, is, in this writer, an act of the most insidious disloyalty, and of blasphemy the most daring. We all know, that the Duke of Clarence is not married, and that, therefore, if he had children, those children must be bastards, and that the father must be guilty of a crime in the eye of the law as well as of religion, and that he would exhibit a striking example of that vice and immorality which his royal father's proclamation, so regularly read to us by our pastors, commands us to shun and to abhor, and enjoins upon the magistrates to mark out and to punish wherever they shall find them existing among us. While we hear this command so often repeated to us, and know that, from the form in which it is conveyed, it comes immediately from his Majesty's mind and conscience, can we possibly suppose, that he would wink at acts, in his own family, such as are described by this writer? And when to this consideration we add the many others that present themselves upon the subject, can we hesitate in declaring, that to represent the Duke of Clarence as having a "numerous family of children" is foully to slander his Royal Highness, and that, further to represent him as ostentatiously exhibiting this "numerous family" in public, and in the immediate presence of all his royal brothers and of

comments upon the publication before the Lord Chancellor of England, and other of the nobles, is to accuse him of a gratuitous and wanton insult against the laws, the manners, and the morals of the country.—This representation and accusation I must and I do, therefore, consider as false; and, I am confirmed in this my opinion, when I hear the same writer assert, that the Prince of Wales took Mother Jordan by the hand, and, in the presence of a Countess. a Countess's daughter, and a Baroness. seated her at the head of the table, taking his place upon her right hand, his royal brothers arranging themselves, according to their rank, on both sides of the table, the post of honour being nearest Mother Jordan, who, the last time I saw her, cost me eighteen-pence in her character of Nell Jobson!-This part of the account proves the falsehood of the whole. But, though, amongst persons, who are at all acquainted with the characters of the illustrious personages, who are, by this writer, represented as having been actors in the scene, there can be no doubt that the whole of the representation is false, more especially when we take into view the pious and strenuously-enforced precepts of the royal father's proclamation; amongst that part of his Majesty's subjects, who know nothing of the manners of the great, except what they learn through the channel of the newspapers, doubts upon the subject may prevail, nay, such persons may believe the representation of the Courier, particularly as it has been given, and in nearly the same words, too, by all the other newspapers; and, therefore, being fully convinced, that the representation must produce, in whatever degree it is believed, an impression extremely injurious to the character of the parties named; not less injurious to the manners and morals of the people; and, eventually, greatly dangerous to the stability of the throne, for this plain reason, that the most virtuous part of the people, that part of them in whose minds truth and justice are predominant, that part of them on whom alone reliance could safely be placed, would infallibly be the most disgusted, and the most

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alienated, by the belief of such a repre- | HENSON and your petition, was perfectly sentation; being fully convinced of these the royal parties, whose names have been so unwarrantably brought before studied insult" offered to him. the public in the above-cited publicathereof to be publicly made; I venture to beseech them to reflect on the fatal consequences which have uniformly ensued, and especially in recent instances, from proceedings such as are described in this publication, and to remember, that to be blameless, as they doubtless are, in this and all other cases of the kind, is not enough, unless they are also thought to be blameless; I venture to beseech them well to weigh the words of my motto, and to consider whether, though the above-cited publication is a tissue of falsehoods, their permitting it to remain uncontradicted may not expose them, amongst the uninformed part of the people, to the imputation of acting upon a principle such as that in my motto described; I venture to beseech them, above all things, to reflect upon what must be the natural and inevitable effect produced in the minds of the people, if they were once to believe that any portion of the grants made out of the taxes, in times like the present, was expended upon objects such as those described in this poisonous publication; and lastly, as I have, in proportion to my means and my capacity, done as much as any private individual ever did in support of the throne and the reputation of the royal family, I hope it will not be thought presumptuous that I now make them a tender of my pages and my pen, for the purpose of making and promulgating that contradiction, which every truly loval subject is so anxiously desirous to see.

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF NOTTINGHAM.

London, 5th June, 1832.

My FRIENDS.

NELL I find, and I have his authority to Some time in February last, Mr. WAKsay, that everything which I, in my LEY published in The Ballot weekly Register of 26th May, have said, relanewspaper, of which he is proprietor,

correct. And, that being the case, important truths, I venture to beseech judge you of the conduct of Mr. HENson, who accuses Mr. O'Connell of " a

I find that Mr. O'Connell has, since tion, to cause a formal contradiction that time, received Mr. HENSON, and read your petition; that he required (and well he might) to have proof of the facts before he presented a document, inculpating, by name, so many persons, and preferring against them charges so heavy; that Mr. HENSON offered to get affidavits from Nottingham in support of the charges; that Mr. O'Connell desired him to do this without delay; that, however, up to this day Mr. O'Connell has been waiting in vain for the affidavits, though, observe, Mr. Henson has now been in London, first and last, more than two months upon this business! My good friends, it is not for me to dictate to you as to the manner in which you should spend your money: if I have no taste for keeping an ambassador, that gives me no right to complain of the existence of that taste in you; but as it was thought worth while, when I was at Norring-HAM, that I should be consulted on the subject; and as I was, and am, extremely anxious upon the score of this petition, I now give you my decided opinion, that, if you wish your petition to succeed, you will immediately recal your ambassador from the court of the Bear and Ragged Staff, and send up, upon his ten toes, some honest weaver of plain sense in his stead.

I am your faithful friend, and most obedient servant, WM. COBBETT.

THE HARPENDEN CASE.

This affair will, unless the nation has lost its character for humanity, become as notorious as anything that ever engaged the attention of Englishmen. HARPENDEN is a village in HERTFORD-Upon making inquiry of Mr. O'Con- shire, and not far from St. ALBAN'S. tive to his conduct with regard to Mr. an account of the treatment and committal of WILLIAM WELLS, a labourer, by one HAWKINS, a justice of the peace, residing in or near that village. This fellow, HAWKINS, applied, by SCARLETT and HOLT, for a CRIMINAL INFORMATION against Mr. WAKLEY. The rule to show cause was grapted; and Mr. WAKLEY had to pay between three and four pounds before he could obtain copies of the affidavits, on which the rule was granted. He then had to pay three or four pounds more for leave to produce affidavits in his defence! On the 2nd instant he went into court himself and met SCARLETT and HOLT, and argued against the rule. The judges, TENTER-DEN, LITTLEDALE, and TAUNTON, deferred the decision until another day; and perhaps they will have decided before this Register will go from the press. I insert here the AFFIDAVITS on both sides; first, those of HAWKINS, the justice, and of JENNINGS, the overseer; and, then, the affidavits in defence. I thought I had known enough before of the state of the labourers and their families; but here the blood runs cold indeed! Read these affidavits, my readers; read them; and then wonder, if you can, at anything that you will ever read. There are many important subjects that press forward for attention; but this thrusts all others aside! says to us: " You are devils in human shape, if you remain unmoved by this!" I thank Mr. WAKLEY for what he has done in this case; I wish with all my heart that the case may come to A TRIAL. I wish to see SCARLETT and HOLT in the hands of Mr. WAKLEY USON this occasion. I wish to see them dealt with by a man of real talent; and here they have one. But I wish to see this thing TRIED: that is what I wish; for the result of that trial will show preeisely how we stand as to the laws related to the treatment of the working people. There is a treadmill, it seems, even in the little village of Harpenden! Oh! this trial would do an infinity of good; and, amongst other things, prove to all those who do not now know it, that Mr. WAKLEY is one of the very first men that ought to be chosen to fight the people's battles in Parliament.

Affidavits in Accusation. AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN HAWKINS.

" That from the month of March 1831, this deponent hath been and acted as one of the justices of the peace for the said county, and that deponent is the person mentioned as "a new magistrate (Hawkins)" in the defamatory libel. That at or about Easter, 1831, Joshua Jennings and Wm. Kingston, in the said libel mentioned, became overseers of the poor of the same parish for the year then ensuing. That deponent has been informed, and verily believes, that some time after the said Joshua Jennings became one of such overseers of the poor as aforesaid, he attended, and stated to his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Hertford, at one of their weekly meetings at the Court-house at St. Alban's, in the said county, that the said above mentioned widows'-houses or churchhouses were then occupied by able-bodied men and their wives and families, as paupers, paying no rent for the same; and that they refused to quit and give up possession thereof, and that the same were very much dilapidated and out of repair; and that the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish were desirous of preparing the said houses, according to the purpose for which they were erected, for the reception of certain poor widows of the same parish, who would very soon be ready to occupy the same houses; and that thereupon the said justices then and there present, authorised the said churchwardens and overseers of the poor to remove the said then occupiers of the same houses therefrom, for the purpose aforesaid. That he, this deponent, was not present at the said meeting. That the said Joshua Jennings attended on the said 25th day of July at this deponent's said residence, and on oath, in the presence of the said William Wells, gave evidence before this deponent, that the wife and five children of the said William Welis, for some time previous to the day of the date of the same warrant, were resident in one of the said widows'-houses, or churchhouses, as paupers, and were entirely supplied with food and other necessaries at the expense of the said parish of Harpenden; and that the said William Wells had for some time previously been absent from his said wife and family of children, and that the said William Wells was able to maintain his said wife and family by work, but that he had neglected to do so, and that the said wife of the said William Wells had stated to the said Joshua Jennings, during the said absence of the said William Wells from his said wife and family, that she the said wife of the said William Wells did not know whither the said William Wells was gone. That he said William Wells being unable to make any sufficient defence to the said charge, he, this deponent, con-victed the said William Wells of the said offence, as an idle and disorderly person, according to the statute in that case made, and

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delivered to the said constable a warrant of commitment under the hand and seal of this deponent, directed to the said constable and to the keeper of the said house of correction, at Hertford, in and for the said county of Hertford, bearing date the said 25th day of July, commanding the said constable to convey to, and the said keeper to receive in his custody in the said house of correction, the said William Wells, there to be kept to hard labour for the space of one calendar month. And deponent at the same time, with the approbation of the said Joshua Jennings, ordered the said constable to refrain from executing the said warrant of commitment, if in the course of a week or a fortnight then next, the said William Wells provided for his said wife and children, whereby they might cease to be chargeable to the said parish of Harpenden, by occupying one of the same widows'-houses or church-houses as paupers, as aforesaid, and by being maintained from the public funds of the same parish. That on the 19th day of August last, Joshua Jennings, as such overseer of the poor aforesaid, complained and made oath to this deponent that George Jennings, being a person able wholly to maintain himself and his family by work or other means, did wilfully neglect so to do, by which neglect his wife and three children had become and then were actually chargeable to the parish of Harpenden, contrary to the form of the statute in that case made; and that the said Joshua Jennings also then and there iuformed deponent that said George Jennings had gone away and left his wife and family residing as paupers, and entirely maintained at the expense of the public parochical funds of the same parish, in one of the same widows'-houses; and that the wife of the said George Jennings had informed said Joshua Jennings that she did not know where her husband then was. That deponent thereupon issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said George Jennings, to answer the said complaint, but that the said George Jennings was not brought before this deponent in pursuance of the said warrant. That on the 26th day of March last the said George Jennings was fully committed by this deponent to the common jail of the county of Heriford, charged on the oaths of John Plasom and others with having, on the 24th day of the same month, feloniously killed a wether sheep, the property of Richard Oakley, with intent to steal, and with having feloniously stolen part of the carcase thereof. That the said William Wells is the person in the said several libels mentioned by the name of Wells, and that deponent verily believes that the said George Jennings is the person in the said several libels alluded to and therein described as one other of the three poor men therein mentioned, and who is therein stated to have been incarcerated by this deponent. That he hath never issued any warrant of apprehension or commitment (ex-cept as before mentioned) against the said said parish except by such residence in the

against any of the poor or helpless persons alluded to in the said several libels."

AFFIDAVIT OF JOSHUA JENNINGS.

"That from about Easter, 1830, to about Easter, 1831, Richard Oakley and William Sygrave were the overseers of the poor of the same parish of Harpenden, and that he, deponent, assisted the said Richard Oakley in performing the duties of his said office; and that during that period the said George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, a convict feion returned from transportation, with their respective wives and families, and William Stockings, were removed by the said overseers of the poor from the said widows'houses or church-houses, in which they were then resident as paupers, but were again admitted to reside therein; and in the summer of the year 1830 the said William Wells was also allowed to take possession of one of the same houses with his wife and family, but that a short time previous to Easter, 1831, the said several above-mentioned residents in the said houses were directed by the said overseers of the poor, or by this deponent on their behalf, to quit the same premises, which they neglected and refused to do. Deponent Joshua Jennings further saith, that a short time after the appointment of deponent and William Kingston, at or about Easter, 1831, to be overseers of the poor of the same parish for the then ensuing year, he deponent gave notice to the said William Wells, George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, to remove with their respective families, from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, which they refused to do; and that in consequence thereof deponent attended at one of the said weekly meetings of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Hertford, held at the Court House, at St. Alban's aforesaid, and stated that the said widows'houses or church-houses were then occupied by able-bodied men with their wives and families, who refused to quit the same premises, which were much dilapidated; and that the then churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish were desirous of preparing the same houses according to the purpose for which they were erected, for the residence of certain poor widows of the same parish, who would soon be ready to occupy the same; and that the said justices then present thereupon authorised deponent to remove the said several persons so residing as paupers in the said widows'-houses or churchhouses, and to appropriate the same for the reception of poor widows of the same parish; whereupon deponent afterwards, to wit, on he 19th day of May last, with the concurreuce of the other churchwardens and overeers of the poor of the same parish, turned the said William Wells, George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, then being able-bodied men not receiving relief from the William Wells or the said George Jennings, or same houses together with their respective

families, out of the same houses which were paupers in one of the said widows' houses or much damaged, but which have been subsequently repaired at the expense of the said parish to the amount of 60% and upwards, and five of which houses are now in the occupation of such poor widows as aforesaid. on the 23d day of June last, Charlotte the wife of the said George Jennings, being advanced in pregnancy, the said George Jen-nings, and his said wife and family, were again admitted into one of the said houses. That about the middle of the month of July last, Mary, the wife of the said William Wells, being near to her confinement, and the said Mary Wells, and her said family then residing, as deponent bath been informed, and verily believes, at Redbourn, in the said county of Hertford, he, this deponent, received a message from the said Mary Wells, as he was informed and verily believes, stating that the said Mary Wells meant to return to Harpenden to be confined; and that the said Mary Wells accordingly brought back her said family to Harpenden, when deponent refused to receive her, and that the said Mary Wells and her said family having for two or three nights slept in an out-house, deponent, on the 18th July last, again admitted the said Mary Wells and her said family into the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and supplied her with necessaries proper for her situation. That a short time previous to the 23d day of July last, the said Mary Wells informed deponent that her said husband, William Wells, was absent from her, and that she did not know where he was gone to, and that she, the said Mary Wells, and her said family of children, who were then living in one of the said widows'-houses or churchhouses as paupers, as aforesaid, had no means of subsistence, and that they required relief from the said parish, whereupon the said Mary Wells and her said family, by the authority of this deponent, received their daily food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That, on the 23d day July last, deponent attended at one of the said weekly meetings of the said justices, and gave evidence to the aforesaid facts against the said William Wells, and that the said William Wells was a person able wholly to maintain his family by work or other means, and that he neglected so to do, whereby his said wife and family of children became chargeable as aforesaid, whereupon Daniel Goodson Adey, Esq., one of the said justices, issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said William Wells, in pursuance whereof the said William Wells was, on Sunday the 24th of July last, apprehended, and on the 25th July aforesaid, was taken by the constable of the same parish to Byelands aforesaid, when deponent attended, and gave evidence on oath before the said John Hawkins of the several matters afore-said against the said William Wells. That previous to the 19th August last, Charlotte, the wife of the said George Jennings, who was then living with her family of children as

church-houses, informed this deponent that the said George Jennings had left his said wife and family several days previously, and that she did not know whither he was gone, and that she, the said Charlotte Jennings and her said family required relief from the said parish of Harpenden, whereupon depon-ent authorised the said Charlotte Jennings and her said family to receive their food from the said poor-house, which they accordingly did. That on the 19th day of August, he, deponent, attended before the said John Haw-kins, at Byelands aforesaid, and made complaint against the said George Jennings of the aforesaid facts, and that the said George Jennings was able wholly to maintain himself and his family by work or other means, and that he neglected to do so, whereby his wife and three children became chargeable as aforesaid; whereupon the said John Hawkins issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said George Jennings; and said justices thereupon convicted said George Jennings, and said Samuel Reynolds Solly thereupon issued his warrant, bearing date said 26th day of August, for the commitment of said George Jennings to said House of Correction, in and for the said county of Hertford, and said Samuel Reynolds Solly thereupon directed that said warrant of commitment should not be executed, if within seven days then next, the said wife and family of said George Jenning, were removed from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and ceased to be chargeable to the said parish of Harpenden. That on the said 26th day of August, said John Mico Winter and Samuel Reynolds Solly authorised the said warrant of commitment issued by said John Hawkins against said Wm. Wells to be executed forthwith. That by the direction of deponent, said two warrants of commitment against said William Wells and George Jennings respectively, were not, nor was either of them, executed, until the 27th of August last, until which time, said William Wells and George Jennings, and their respective wives and families continued to reside as paupers in said widows' or church-houses.'

Affidavits for the Defence. AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM WELLS.

"That he has worked in said parish of Harpenden for several years last past, almost exclusively, at Turner's-hall, near Harpenden aforesaid. That, in the year 1830, he resided in and occupied a small cottage at Karsmangreen, belonging to a person of the name of Bunn, who required deponent to leave the same, to enable him, said Mr. Bunn, to live in it himself. That when he received notice from said Mr. Bunn to leave said cottage, he, deponent, used his utmost endeavours to obtain either another cottage or lodgings in his parish of Harpenden aforesaid, but without succeeding in doing so, and there being certain houses belonging to said parish at that time vacant, he, deponent, applied to Mr. Oakley,

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go into one of them with his wife and family, until he, deponent, could procure them a place to live in. That said Mr. Oakley having refused to let him, deponent, and his family, go into one of the unoccupied parish houses, and being obliged to leave the cottage at Karsmangreen, which he rented from Mr. Bunn, he, de- I ponent, and his family proceeded to the Churchgreen at Harpenden and lodged themselves upon the public green without shelter. That when he and his wife and family, consisting of his wife and four children, took up their lodging on the Church-green aforesaid, he found in the cage on the Church-green, another family called Parrott, consisting of the husband, wife, and five children, whom deponent understood to be unable, like himself, to procure a house, a habitation, or lodgings of any description for themselves. That he and his wife and family, and the other family above named, continued on the said Church-green in the cage some time, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, but he, deponent, leaving his family in the day-time, to follow his daily labour at Turner's-hall-farm aforesaid, and returning in the evening to them on the Church-green at Harpenden aforesaid. That owing to the sufferings of his children, he told Mr. Oakley, the then overseer, that an application would be made to the bench of magistrates at St. Alban's, for an order on the overseers, to admit deponent and his family, and the other families, into the parish houses then unin-habited. That he, deponent, and said Parrott, did apply to the magistrates in petty sessious, at St. Alban's, and in the presence of Mr. Oakley, the then overseer, he, deponent, then represented to them the situation in which he, deponent, and the other parties were placed and their inability to procure a place to reside in, when said magistrates requested said Mr, Oakley to find deponent, and said other family, lodgings. That he and his wife and family, and Parrott and his wife and family, were allowed to occupy one of the churchhouses, and subsequently Barber and his wife and family were allowed to live in the cage and at that time George Jennings and his wife and family were living in the tread-wheel-house adjoining the poor house. That himself and family, Barber and family, and Jennings and family, continued to occupy the places aforesaid, until the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston came into office about Easter, 1831. That some time previous to himself and his family being admitted into the church-house, his wife was allowed by the parish the sum of 2s. per week in consequence of being a cripple through an accident, which allowance had been reduced, and was at the time he, deponent, and his family, were admitted into the church-house, only is per week. That in consequence of himself and family being allowed to occupy one of the church-houses as aforesaid, the said Mr. Oakhis, deponent's wife, and said he should retain which he retained for his own support for the

the then overseer, to allow him, deponent, to it as rent for the occupation of the said house. That some time in the month of May following, he and his family being compelled to leave the church-house, and not being able to procure any place in Harpenden wherein to dwell, were obliged again to live on the churchgreen, exposed to the weather both by day and night, and continued so for about a fortnight. during which time deponent worked daily in a field belonging to Joshua Jennings, the overseer, who paid him for such work on the Friday evening, at the poor-house, about fourpence per pole. That having procured lodgings at Bedbourn, they went and resided there for about five weeks. That whilst he was living at Redbourn aforesaid, he was engaged in the work of hay-harvest at Mr. Wimbush's, at Whetstone, and was obliged to be absent from his wife and family from the Monday morning till Saturday night, when he invariably returned to his wife with his wages, with one exception, on which occasion he sent his wages to his wife by a fellow-la-bourer. That his wife being near her confinement, the landlord of the house in which she was lodging at Redbourn with her children, refused to permit them to remain there any longer, and deponent was therefore compelled to remove them to Harpenden. That, on his removing them to Harpenden aforesaid, his wife endeavoured to obtain a house or lodgings to live in, but without success, and she was therefore obliged again to lodge here self and children on the public green at Har-penden aforesaid, without shelter. That his wife and family continued on the green for six days. That his wife and family removed from Redhourn to Harpenden on Tuesday, the 12th of July, but he deponent, on the Sunday evening previous, gave to his wife the whole of his then last week's earnings with the exception of 3s. 6d., which he retained for his own immediate wants for the succeeding week. That, on the following Saturday night, or early on the Sunday morning, he went to Harpenden, where he found his wife and family without a habitation, and he, deponent, after remaining the whole of the day with his wife, about midnight on Sunday again left her, but not without first giving to her the sum of 7s. 6d., the whole of his wages for the previous week with the exception of 3s. 6d., which he retained for his own use. That he was in the habit every summer of going to hay-harvest to Henly-hill, Barnet, or Whetstone, and when the hay-harvest was over in that part of the country, he used to return to Mr. Bates, at Turner's-hall, where he, deponent, was regularly employed. That he again reached Harmeden very early on the Sunday morning, the 24th day of July, when he found his wife had been confined on the previous Monday; that he walked from Whetstone to Harpenden to see her, intending to return the same even-ing; that he saw her and gave her upwards of 10s. 6d., being the whole of his earnings,

ensuing week. That on the same day one mind that she never applied to the parish for Joshua Lines, the constable of Horpenden, arrested deponent by virtue of some warrant, and was about to take him, deponent, to the cage, but at deponent's request he was taken to the overseers', the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston, of whom he, deponent, demanded to know why he was to be taken to the cage, but the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston refused to tell deponeut for what he had been taken into custody, and ordered the said Joshua Lines to lock up deponent in the cage where he, deponent, was confined from the Sunday until the Monday morning, without being allowed any food whatever. That on Monday morning he, deponent, was taken by the constable to the residence of John Hawkins, Esq., a magistrate for the county of Herts, who resides in the said parish of Harpenden, and was followed there by the said Joshua Jennings, and when the said Joshua Jennings reached the house of the said John Hawkins, he was in the company of the said John Hawkins, with whom the said Joshua Jennings retired into the parlour of the said John Hawkins. That shortly afterwards he was taken into the presence of the said John Hawkins, who said to deponent as soon as he entered the room, "I will give you a month's hard labour at Hertford, and ou deponent's requesting to know for what, was told by the said John Hawkins that it was "for neglecting deponent's wife and family, and letting them become chargeable to the parish;" and deponent saith he immediately replied that his wife and family had had nothing from the parish; whereupon the said Joshua Jennings said they were charge-able to the parish while they lived in the church-house, and defendant then offered to pay rent for the house until he could get another, which the said Joshua Jennings refused to accept, but offered to allow the warrant to stand over for a week or two. That at the time he was taken to the prison at Hertford he was engaged in full harvest work, with his regular employer, Mr. Bates, of Turner's-hall, near Harpenden, and maintaining and supporting his family without any relief whatever from the parish, and that he continued to reside in the church-house, belonging to the said parish, not from his inability to pay the rent of a dwelling, but because he, deponent, could not procure any tenement or lodging for his said wife and family. That he offered not only in the presence of the said Mr. Hawkins, but at other times, to pay rent for the occupation of the said church-house until he, deponent, could obtain another place to put his wife and family into. That he did never absent himself from his wife and children and leave them chargeable to the parish of Harpenden; on the contrary, he, deponent, when he left his wife to proceed to the hay-harvest, always provided her, from time to time, with money sufficient for the maintenance of herself and children, and deponent feels confident in his

relief during his absence, nor ever declared she did not know where deponent, her husband, was gone. That he was taken to the prison at Hertford by the said Joshua Lines, the constable, who apprehended him, deponent, on the warrant, in the first instance, as hereinbefore mentioned; and on the return of the said constable to Harpenden, he, deponeut, sent back to his said wife, who was at that time confined, the sum of 5s. 6d., being all the money he had, with the exception of 2s. 6d., which deponent retained for his personal use during his confinement in prison. That when he was about leaving the prison at Hertford, on the expiration of the term for which he had been committed, he was taken before Mr. Lloyd, with other persons who were discharged at the same time, when said Mr. Lloyd said to deponent, he hoped he should not see deponent there again; and that he understood deponent had been sent there for abusing the overseers, and neglecting his wife and family, which he deponent denied, and told the said Mr. Lloyd he had been sent there because he could not get a house for his wife and family, whereupon the said Mr. Lloyd said he had not got the warrant, but should see Mr. Wilson, who was the governor of the prison. That the said Mr. Lloyd then inquired who it was that committed deponent to prison; and on deponent's informing him it was Mr. Hawkins, of Harpenden, the said Mr. Lloyd replied he did not know that gentleman, and had never heard of such a commitment in his life, or words to that or the like effect.

AFFIDAVIT OF ELIZABETH WELLS.

"That she has been the wife of the said William Wells about thirteen years, who has for several years last past worked at Turner'shall, in the said parish of Harpenden. That her said husband occupied a cottage at Karsman's-green of Mr. Bunn, who requiring the same for his own occupation, gave notice to the said William Wells to leave the same. That after her said husband received notice from the said Mr. Bunn to leave the said cottage, she, deponent, and her said husband, made great efforts to obtain a house or lodgings for themselves and family to live in, but were unable to obtain either, in consequence of the small number of tenements in Harpenden aforesaid fit for the reception of working labourers. That owing to the impossibility of either her husband or herself obtaining a dwelling as aforesaid, her husband herself and children, were compelled to lodge themselves on the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, where they remained some time, until the overseers of the said parish were requested, by the magistrates assembled at St. Alban's, to find them a lodging. That her busband, herself, and family, were, with a person of the name of Parrott and his family, allowed to occupy one of the church-houses at Harpenden and they continued to occupy the same until

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Mr. Joshua Jennings and Mr. William Kings- unfit for deponent and the infant to lie upon; Easter 1831. That shortly after the said parties had come into office, she, this deponent and her family, were forcibly expelled by the said overseers from the said church-house, and were again obliged to lodge themselves upon the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, exposed to the inclemency of the weather both by night and by day. That herself and family were exposed both by day and by night on the said public green for upwards of a fortnight, during all which time she was continually making inquiries for, and endeavouring to procure, a lodging for herself and family; but being unable to meet with any, her said husband, the said William Wells, took lodgings for her and their family at Redbourn, in the county of Hertford, to which they all removed in the beginning of the month of June. That when he went to lodge at Redbourn aforesaid her husband went to Whetstone, near Barnet, to hay-harvest, for Mr. Wimbush, and she used generally on the Sunday to be visited by her husband and receive part of his wages from him, or he used to send it to her. After living five weeks at Redbourn aforesaid, she was compelled to leave her lodgings there, n consequence of her landlord refusing to ermit her to continue by reason of the near approach of her confinement; and she therefore proceeded to Harpenden, and again used ber utmost endeavours to procure either a house or lodgings for herself and children, but as not able to obtain either. That she again odged herself and children by day on the punic green of Harpenden aforesaid, and by night he retreated, with her children, to an open ind exposed hovel, in a field belonging to Mrs. Kingston, at Harpenden, where deponent and er children slept upon the straw laid down r the cattle, leaving her bedding upon the een, which she was unable to carry, owing her being very ill, and very near her connement; and she, deponent, and her children, continued thus to live, by day on the reen, and by night in the hovel, for six days. hat on Monday, the 18th of July last, whilst she was sleeping in the said hovel, at about three o'clock on that morning, she, this deonent, was taken with the pains of labour; and, in the course of the day, she managed to t to the Church-green with her children; id that, when there, she was visited by Mr. edham, the workhouse-keeper. That, about ght o'clock on the evening of the 18th of laly, she was allowed to go into one of the surch-houses, in which she was delivered in than half an hour after she was admitted. hat shortly after she was delivered, and when was very ill, a woman of the name of Dale brought to her, deponent, sixpence, sayth directions to buy deponent some tea, and latever else she wanted. That the bed beging to deponent's busband, and on which had been lying on the Church-green, was such a wet and damp state that it was totally

ton became overseers of the said parish at and the parish officers were therefore obliged, by the direction of the parish surgeon, to let deponent have a bed from the workhouse. That, at the time of her confinement, her husband was working at the hay harvest, for Mr. Wimbush, at his farm at Whetstone; that she well knew her husband was working there, because he had given to her his wages on the day preceding that on which she was delivered; and this deponent, therefore, most positively devies that she, shortly previous to the 23d day of July, or at any other time, told Mr. Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers of the said parish of Harpenden, that her said husband was absent, and that she did not know where he was gone; or that she told the said Joshua Jennings that she and ber family of children had no means of subsistence, that they required relief from the parish, or that she, deponent, and ber family, received their food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That the only relief she received from the said parish of Harpenden, during her confinement, was the sixpence hereinbefore adverted to, and a jug of gruel, which was never used either by herself or her children-for neither of which she made an application, baving the means of providing them herself. That she herself paid the midwife for attending her, deponent, upon ber confinement; and that she supported herself and children the whole of the ensuing week, without receiving any food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That, about two years back, in consequence of a thorn having forced itself into her great toe, she was attacked with a locked-jaw and fever, and was confined to her hed many weeks; and the fever having settled in her left-hand, she became and was some time a cripple, and incapable of using it; and she now, at times, has no use whatever of it. That, during the severe part of her illness. she received assistance from the parish, which was gradually reduced, first to two shillings per week, then to one shilling per week; and finally it was withdrawn altogether, on depoand family being admitted into the church-house, Mr. Oakley, the overseer at that time, declaring he should retain the said one shilling for the rent. Both deponents further say, that after the said William Wells was discharged from prison as aforesaid, both of them made many efforts, and used much exertion, to get a house or lodgings, and lost several days' labour in doing so, but they did not succeed. And said Joshua Jennings came to deponent's, at the church-house, in which they resided, and desired them to leave the same; and threatened deponent, William Wells, to send him again to prison if he did not at once quit the house. That the only relief they and their families ever received from the said parish, previous to the said William Wells being committed to prison, was on the occasion of the said Elizabeth Wells being laid up with the locked-jaw and fever, and the sispence and jug of gruel at her

confinement; and on one occasion being admitted for a fortnight into the workhouse, about three years and a half ago."

sent to prison, she and her children were entirely supported by her husband, from whose wages she also paid and discharged the

AFFIDAVIT OF CHARLOTTE JENNINGS.

That she is the wife of George Jennings, late of Harpenden aforesaid, labourer, to whom she has been married upwards of seven years. That her said husband was employed as a labourer, by three or four respectable farmers residing at, or in the neighbourhood of, Harpenden aforesaid. That at Easter, 1831, she was residing with her husband and three children in the Treadwheel-house at St. Harpenden aforesaid, and on the 1st of May one of her children was buried. That on the 19th of May, herself, husband, and two children, were forcibly driven from the said house, by the constable of the said parish, acting under the orders of Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers. That at the time herself and family were driven from the said Treadwheelhouse, three other families, viz. Barber, Wells, and Parrott, were in like manner driven from other houses belonging to the said parish. That the whole four families, consisting of eight grown persons, and sixteen children, were obliged to go upon the Church-green of Harpenden, where they took their stations, and remained exposed, both by day and night, to the inclemency of the weather. That whilst there, they were seen by Mr. Launder at that time living in the town of Harpenden, who permitted deponent and her children to sleep four nights in his dog-kennel. That not only herself and husband, but also the other families, endeavoured to get houses to live in. That Parrott succeeded in getting a house in a few days. Wells and family, in about a week, went to Redbourn. Barber and family continued on the green, or in Mr. Kingston's hovel, about a month, when they were allowed to go into Butcher Freeman's barn; and deponent and family continued on the green, or in Mr. Kingston's hovel, or Mr. Freeman's barn, from the 19th of May to the middle of August. That Mr. Freeman at first refused to allow the deponent and family to go into the barn, because she was near her confinement. And deponent further saith, that she was taken with the pains of labour in Mr. Freeman's barn, very early in the morning, and fearing Mr. Freeman would be angry, she went to the Church-green, and whilst there, she was seen by the workhouse-man, who having learnt in what state deponent was, went to Mrs. Wells, who was in one of the church-houses, and asked her to make room for deponent, which she did, and deponent was admitted accordingly. And de-ponent further saith, that her husband, said G. Jennings, from the time he and the family were from the Treadwheel-house, until he was sent to prison on the 27th of August last, maintained and supported this deponent and his family, without any relief from the parish. And deponent further saith, that at and after her confinement, and until her husband was

entirely supported by her husband, from whose wages she also paid and discharged the claim of the midwife, except one shilling, which is now due to her. And deponent most positively denies that, previous to her husband's being sent to prison as aforesaid, or at any other time, she informed the said Joshua Jennings that her husband had left her, and that she did not know whither he was gone, and that she, this deponent, required relief from the said parish, and she also most distinctly denies that she and her family received their food from the poor-house of the said parish. She knows her husband did not, nor did she, this deponent herself, make any application whatever to the said Joshua Jennings for any relief whatsoever, and the only relief she, this deponent, received, was food for eight days out of the fourteen that her husband was in confinement. That in two or three days after her husband was discharged from prison, herself and family were again turned into the street by the overseers of the said parish, the said Joshua Jennings declaring her husband should be again sent to prison, unless they quitted the said house; in consequence thereof, herself and family were again obliged to lie exposed upon the Church-green, where they remained until they were permitted by the landlord of the Cock-inn to go into his stable, for which this deponent's husband paid one shilling per week, and they remained in the said stable until a week before when her husband procured the house in which she now resides."

AFFIDAVIT OF ALFRED WILLIAM NICHOLLS.

"That he has known William Wells, late of Harpenden, but now residing at Wheathempsted, in the county of Herts, labourer, for the space of four years last past, and that he believes him to be a hard-working, honest, That he well rememand industrious man. bers the said William Wells and his wife and family being exposed on the Church-green of Harpenden aforesaid, and that he and his wife did, while so exposed, on several occasions, make application to him, deponent, to let him a tenement which he, deponent, had the possession of, and referred him, deponent, to Mr. Smith, a schoolmaster at Harpenden, who would become answerable for the rent, but the said tenement was occupied, and continued to be so, or he would have let the same to said William Wells; nor did he, deponent, know of any tenement or lodgings to let, otherwise he would have recommended him, said Wm. Wells, to the same. That he was also applied to by George Jennings and George Barber, two other persons who were exposed on the said Church-green, at Harpenden aforesaid, to let them the same tenement, but the same reason prevented him complying with their request as prevented deponent letting the same to the said William Wells. That he has no doubt said William Wells, George Jennings,

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and George Barber, were unable to procure a dwelling in consequence of the scarcity of small tenements for labourers in Harpenden aforesaid; and deponent saith, that at this time said William Wells and his family, said George Barber and his family, and the wife of said George Jennings, are all living out of said parish of Harpenden, in consequence of their inability to get a residence in Harpenden aforesaid. That he knows John Hawkins, of Byelands, in said parish of Harpenden, Esq., that he frequently attends the public vestries of said parish, and is the only magistrate living in the same. That he knows some of said church-houses are occupied by widows, who are in them by compulsion, and not by desire, and that they would willingly leave them if the overseers would continue their weekly allowance if they resided elsewhere, but they are not now appropriated exclusively to widows, inasmuch as one of them is, and has been for a length of time, occupied by a man and his wife, with the authority of said overseers."

AFFIDAVIT OF WM. WELLS, BUILDER. "That he recollects William Wells, a labourer (but no relation to deponent), and his family, together with two or three other families, being turned out of certain parish-houses, and being exposed on the public green, near the church at Harpenden aforesaid, about May 1831, making applications to him, deponent, to know whether he, deponent, could let them tenements, or tell them where they could get a habitation in which to dwell. That he well knows certain parish-houses in Harpenden aforesaid, called church-houses; that they were put into good and substantial repair in the month of July 1830; that he, deponent, was employed by the officers of said parish to do part of the repairs thereof, and his bill of charges for and in respect of such repairs was paid by said parish accordingly. That he does not believe said church-houses were dilapidated and out of repair at the time when said families were turned out of the same, because said houses were repaired in July 1830-were put into good and substantial order and condition. That said church-houses, previous to their repair in 1830, were not devoted to the exclusive occupation of widows, but on the contrary thereof; deponent saith they have been occasionally occupied by families, and a rent has been set aside for the same. They re now occupied by widows, some of whom eside therein against their desire; but they were compelled to go into the said churchlouses in consequence of the weekly allowince made to them having been discontinued intil they went to reside in said houses, as epenent has been informed and verily beeves. That he knows said John Hawkins, of Byelands, Esq., who is an inhabitant of this parish, and who has occasionally attended, and acted as chairman, at the vestry meetings of the said parish."

AFFIDAVIT OF SARAH KING.
"That she had been a widow six years, and

from the time of the death of her husband up to September last, she was living with her daughter in the parish of Harpenden. That shortly after the decease of her husband, the officers of the parish of Harpenden aforesaid, made an allowance to her of 1s. 6d. per week, which was subsequently increased to 2s., which amount she now receives. That when she was residing with her said daughter, she was found with fire, candles, washing and lodging, free of expense, and the 2s. she received from the said parish weekly, provided her with tea and other articles of food. That in Septemher last, Mr. Joshua Jennings and Mr. Wm. Kingston gave notice to deponent that she must occupy one of the church-houses, which she objected to do, as she was very happy with her daughter, and derived comforts from her said daughter, which she, deponent could not enjoy in the church-house. That in consequence of her declining to inhabit one of the church-houses, the said overseers discontinued to her the said allowance of 2s. per week, and they refused to make any more payments to her in respect thereof, until she went to live in one of the said houses. That she was therefore obliged to go into one of the said churchhouses, much against her inclination, and she is now compelled, out of her said allowance of 2s. per week, to provide herself with every necessary, and the most expensive of which she was furnished with by her daughter, when she resided with her, and she continues to live in the said house only in consequence of the threats of the said overseers to discontinue her allowance if she leave the same."

AFFIDAVIT OF -- COX.

"That she inhabits one of the houses at Harpenden aforesaid, called the churchhouses, and has lived there about ten months. That previous to going to reside in the said church-house, she was living in a cottage the property of Captain , rent-free, at the same time receiving an allowance of 2s. per week, as a widow belonging to the said parish of Harpenden. That before she went to reside in the said church-house, she was told by Mr. Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers of the said parish, that she must go into the same, which she at first declined, as she was very comfortable in the cottage belonging to the said Captain , and was paying no rent for the same; but the said Joshua Jennings having withheld the weekly allowance of 2s. from her, she was obliged to go into the said church-house against her inclination."

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN STANT SMITH.

"That he well remembers William Wells, of Harpenden, aforesaid, labourer, and his wife and family, being exposed on the Church-green of Harpenden aforesaid. That the window of deponent's chamber commanded a view of the said Church-green, and that when he went to bed the feelings of deponent were much harassed by observing the dreadful manner in which the family of the said Wm. Wells was exposed to the weather. That feel-

ing a great desire to be spared the pain he was nightly subjected to by witnessing the distress of the said family, he, deponent, made some inquiry into the character of the said William Wells, and finding he was considered to be an honest and industrious labourer, deponent sent for and told the said William Wells he would consent to pay the rent of a dwelling if he could procure the same, and desired the said William Wells to refer any person who had a house to let to him, deponent, who would be answerable for the rent and see it paid, and deponent has no doubt the said Wm. Wells used great exertion in endeavouring to procure a habitation for himself and family which he did not succeed in meeting with."

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN MISSENDEN.

"That he is the laudlord of the Cock-inn, at Harpenden aforesaid, and that in the months of either October or November last, there being three families consisting of about sixteen individuals, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, in the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, he, deponent, from feelings of humanity, allowed the whole of them to take shelter in one of his stables attached to the said Cock-inn, and permitted them to remain there for some time."

BERKSHIRE ELECTION.

Mr. Hallett has been beaten; and, the moment that I saw that Burdett was relied on, I was sure that it would be so. There was that fellow, Walter, too, the printer of the Bloody Old Times newspaper! When I came into town, on Monday, I told people that Mr. Hallett would lose. "Why do you think so?" said they. "Why," said I, "I met "Daddy Burdett, in the park, just "now; and that's a cock that gets out "of the way the moment he sees dan"ger; and he sees it farther off than "any other cock in the world."

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

I told them, at Winchester, that the barking lawyer, M'Donald, would bark himself into the receipt of public money! I told them so. He has made tools of the freeholders, and now he laughs at them. Will they choose another Mac? Macaulay too, has got a place! Will the people of Leeds choose this fellow now? In the next Register I will put forth my "Exhortation to Electors," and will name some men.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

ALEXANDER, H., Brentwood, Essex, corn-

WHILE, J., Maddox-street, Hanover-square, artificial florist.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

RAMSAY, J., Devonport-street, Commercialroad, master mariner.

WARD, J., Upper Ground-street, Surrey, iron-founder.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

LAVERS, W., Nicholas-lane, wine-merchant, WICKS, P., Maidstone, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLMAND, R., Wem, Salop, victualler. BARLOW, J., Leek, Staffordshire, victualler. BATTERSBY, H. and C., Hindley, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.

cashire, cotton-spinners.
COOPER, J., Ryde, and St. Helen's, Isle of
Wight, corn-factor.

DICKINSON, I., Ulverston, Lancashire, scrivener.

DINGLEY, W., Birmingham, victualler. EDWARDS, A. T., Idol-lane, Tower-street, bricklayer.

ELLIOT, J., Chatham, grocer.

FULLER, G. F. jun., late of Ramsgate, grocer. FUSSELL, W. F., Baltonborough, Somersetshire, tanner.

LOVE, J., Havaut, Hampshire, ironmonger. LUNN, W., St. Mary-at-Hill, slopseller. MARSHALL, J., Bradford, Yorkshire, ironmonger.

PACKWOOD, W. jnn., Warwick, grocer. SANDERS, J., Birmingham, druggist.

TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

COOMBS, A. and W., Bennett's-hill, builders. DUNSDON, T., Worcester, pastry-cook.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BLAKEY, J., Habergham Eaves and Burnley, Lancashire, cotton-spinner. EMDEN, S. Bucklersbury, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BARTRAM, C., Bankside, oilman. BATES, W., Lees, Lancashire, cotton-spinner. BATTYLL, R. C., Doctors'-commons, tavers-

keeper.
BAWDEN, J., Devonport, painter.
BILHAM, J., Old-st., St. Luke's, lic.victnaller.
BLAGBURN, W., Newcastle-upon Tyne,
upholsterer.

BRYERS, S., Chester, silversmith.
CLARKE, P., Pontesbury, Shropsh, maltster.
FOXWELL, W. V., Clapton, Gloucestershire,

GOLDSCHMIDT, A., C. W. Stokes, and E. Meyer, Great St. Helens, merchants.

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HALSALL, E., Bristol, watch-maker. HIGGINS, E., Dudley, Worcestersh., hatter. LOCKETT, W.H., Manchester, wine-merchant. LOCKWOOD, T., Huddersfield, woolstapler. OCKWOOD, T. jun., and J. Cockburn,

Huddersfield, woollen-cloth-manufacturers. ATCHIE, J., East-lane, Walworth, baker. BEL, J. S., Norwich, veterinary surgeon. TONER, T. and T. jun., Berwick, Yorkshire, corn-millers.

VALKER, J., Tavistock-sq., schoolmaster. VARINGTON, T., Guilford-st., wine-broker. VEST, J., W. Taylor, and T. Walker, New-

port, Monmouthshire, corn-merchants.
WHITE, W.F., Norwich, furnishing-ironmong.
YARINGTON, W., Swaffham, Norfolk, money-scrivener.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION. RITCHIE, W., Paisley, provision-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

ARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 4 .supplies, since this day se'nnight, of glish, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, Scotch and Irish oats, have been modely good: of English, Irish, and foreign r, rather great: of English and Irish ley, English and Scotch malt, Scotch flour, lish oats, beans, and peas, and seeds, from quarters, very limited.

is this day's market was not very nume-uly attended by either London or country ers, and most of these were disposed to sparingly, the trade was, with each kind orn, as also malt, pulse, seeds, and flour, edingly dull, at but little, if any, variation a last Monday's prices.

Wheat	51s. to 65s.
B ye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	24s. to 28s.
fine	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
Boilers	35s. to 38s.
Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
Tick	33s. to 37s.
Uats, Potatoe	25s. to 27s.
Poland	23s. to 25s.
Feed	18s. to 24s.
Lour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

DECAME

	PROVISIONS.	н
1	on, Middles, new, 45s. to 47s. per cwt. Sides, new 49s. to 52s.	
DE	k, India, new 127s. 0d. to -s.	ŀ
	k, Mess, new 67s. 0d. to 75s. per barl.	l
	ter, Belfasts. to -s. per cwt.	ı
	Carlows. to -s.	l
	Corks. to -s.	l
	Limericks. to -s.	l
	Waterford 84s. to -s.	l
	— Dublins. to -s.	ı
	ese, Cheshire 54s. to 74s.	l
	- Gloncester Double 52s, to 64s.	ł

	Gloucester,	Single 42s.	to	50s.
	Edam	49s. to 54s.		
	Gouda	. 48s. to 50s.		
Hams,	Irish	. 60s. to 70s.		

SMITHFIELD.—June 4.

This day's supply of beasts and porkers was limited; of sheep, lambs, and calves, tolerably good. The trade, though not to say brisk, was throughout much brisker than on many past market days; with beef, prime small mutton, and veal, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with lamb and pork at

fully Friday's quotations.
Beasts, 1,969; sheep and lambs, 19,620; calves, 210; pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.-Friday, June 8.

The arrivals this week are good. The prices are rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

TO WORKING MEN AND OTHERS.

R. COBBETT will deliver a Third LECTURE on Passing Events, in the INSTITUTION, Theobald's-road, on Tuesday Evening next, June 12, 1832.—The Doors will be opened at Seven; the Lecture commence at Eight o'Clock. Admission to the public, 6d.; to Members of the National Union of the Working Classes, 3d.—"Rules and Objects" of the Union sold at the Doors, One Penny each.

WARD OF CRIPPLEGATE WITHOUT.

COURT OF JURORS.

T a SPECIAL MEETING of the COURT A OF JURORS, held at the Crown Tavern, May 4, 1832, JOHN DENNY, Esq., Foreman, in the Chair,

It was resolved unanimously,-That the following Address be presented to Michael Scales, Esq., the rightful and legally-elected Alderman of Portsoken Ward:— The Members of the Court of Jurors, free-

men of London, cannot refrain from assuring you of their high esteem for the determination you have displayed in maintaining the rights of the freemen of the City of London,-rights which, independent of their manifest justice, have been solemnly recognised by an Act of Parliament passed in the 11th year of the reign of George the First. The iniquity of the Court of Aldermen in refusing to swear you into an office, to which you have been twice elected by a large majority of votes, is a clear denial of justice; and while it violates that sacred principle in your person, robs the freemen of the City of London of their legal right to elect their own Aldermen, and thereby renders insecure every right they possess, either prescriptively or by enactment.

The Court of Jurors rejoice in your avowed determination to resist injustice, by seeking a reversal of the decree of the despotic Court of Aldermen, whose vile assumption of arbitrary power is unprecedented since the passing of the above-mentioned Act of Parliament.

The Court of Jurors cannot conclude without expressing their regret at the great expense to which you have been exposed by the legal proceedings consequent on the nefarious conduct of the Court of Aldermen, as well as stating their sincere wishes, that the freemen of this great city will make a common cause with you, in endeavouring to bring to a successful issue a case which so vitally concerns themselves, and which, if neglected, will demonstrate to the world, that in the land which is reputed to be the birth-place of freedom, an English constituency may be the slaves of their own representatives.

By order of the Court, J. DENNY, Foreman.

REPLY OF ALDERMAN SCALES.

44, Aldgate, May, 1832.

Gentlemen,-I have read with delight your bold, clear, and comprehensive address to me. It has almost effaced the recollection of my sufferings in the cause of my fellow-citizens.

When we take notice that amongst twentytwo aldermen there is not one who has not actively persecuted me at the risk of sacrificing your elective rights, it lessens our opinions of sworn representatives, and shows human nature in its lowest and most despicable light.

Where have been those brawlers about "freedom," "rights," and "liberties," Waithman, Wood, and Co., who have cozened and deceived their confiding fellow-citizens so many years? Dumb as beetles, when the rights of all the freemen of London are at stake; and, like poor Yorick's skull, without one word wherewith to mock their own grin-

where are the champions of "civil rights," and the heroes in the "cause of liberty," amongst your representatives in the Court of Common Conneil? Like Brutus's boy Lucius, sleep appears to have laid his leaden mace upon them. Fie on them! they are things rank and gross in nature. We shall have plenty of twaddle and bow-wows as the city saint, St. Thomas, approaches, when their fellow-citizens will once more confide in them, and they, if elected, will once more laugh at the credulity of the electors.

Yet, as the freemen of London are governed by annual parliaments, let every freeman look to his own vote, and men will spring up who will honestly and fearlessly defend their rights and privileges against an imbecile, yet despotic, Court of Aldermen. I regret very much that I am compelled to attend before

prejudiced judges in the Court of King's Bench this day, and cannot have the pleasure of meeting you as I intended; for although entire strangers to me, your sensible and public-spirited address proves you rank foremost amongst the freemen of London in the knowledge of your civil rights, and imitating the noble example of the Ward of Portsoken, have had the courage to come forward publicly to defend them.-I am, Gentlemen, Jurors, and Freemen of the Ward of Cripplegate Without, with the utmost respect, your most obedient humble servant,

MICHAEL SCALES. To the Court of Jurors of the Ward of Cripplegate Without.

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealer, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

HE MARK LANE EXPRESS, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence-Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found-The fullest particular of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; 1 List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parlis ment affecting the interests of Landlors Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular al tention to all changes in the Laws of mome to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Price of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; all that can constitute a desirable Fam Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the

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